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OF
WILLIAM PENN.
IN
FIVE VOLUMES.

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C O N T E N T S

O F T H E

F I R S T V O L U M E.

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Truth Exalted; in a short but sure Testimony against all those Religions, Faiths, and Worship, that have been formed and followed in the Darknefs of Apostasy; and for that glorious Light which is now risen, and shines forth, in the Life and Doctrine of the despised Quakers, as the alone good old Way of Life and Salvation — Page 1

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T H E

T H E

A U T H O R ' s L I F E.

WHEN the BLESSED MESSIAH first called forth the immediate followers of his person, he declared self-denial essential to discipleship, saying, "Whosoever doth not bear his cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple," Luke xiv. 27. This path himself trod before them, setting all that should come after, an example of the most perfect patience and resignation. The faithful, in every age, have met with variety of exercises; and many of them, by their more than human constancy, neither terrified by the roughest efforts of cruelty and malice on the one hand, nor enticed by the smoothest allurements of pleasure and vanity on the other, have given convincing proofs to the world, that the GRACE, which supported them, was DIVINE.

It was this which gave our author, in his early years, a solid sense of religion, and a taste of that substantial peace, which the world can neither give nor take away; this instructed him to see the emptiness and vanity of earthly enjoyments, and to turn his back upon the honours, profits, and pleasures of the world, at an age most inclinable to embrace them: this enabled him to surmount all opposition in the search of TRUTH; which having found, he valued as a "pearl of price," and laboured in the propagation and defence of it, both by preaching and writing, almost incessantly for many years.

It being now thought meet to publish a selection of his works for general service, we judge it not im-

A

proper

proper to retain the following Journal of his Life, chiefly extracted out of his own private memoirs; in which, we doubt not, the judicious reader will find many passages both exemplary and instructive.

WILLIAM PENN was born in the parish called St. Catharine's, near the Tower of London, on the 14th day of October, 1644. His father, of the same name, was a man of good estate and reputation, and, in the time of the commonwealth, served in some of the highest maritime offices, as those of rear-admiral, vice-admiral, 'admiral of Ireland, vice-admiral of England, &c. in all which he acquitted himself with honour and fidelity. After the restoration, he was knighted by King Charles the Second, and became a peculiar favourite of the then Duke of York: his father's care, and a promising prospect of his son's advancement, induced him to give him a liberal education; and the youth, of an excellent genius, made such early improvements in literature, that about the 15th year of his age, he was entered a student at Christ's Church College in Oxford.

Now began his ardent desire after pure and spiritual religion to shew itself^a; of which he had before received some taste or relish, through the ministry of Thomas Loe, one of the people called Quakers; for he, with certain other students of that university, withdrawing from the national way of worship, held private meetings for the exercise of religion, where they both preached and prayed among themselves: this gave great offence to the heads of the college, and he, being but sixteen years of age, was fined for nonconformity^b. Which small stroke of persecution not at all abating the fervour of his zeal, he was at length, for persevering in the like religious practices, expelled the college.

From thence he returned home^c, but still took great delight in the company of sober and religious people; which his father knowing to be a block in the way to

^a 1659.^b 1660.^c 1661.

preferment, endeavoured both by words and blows to deter him from ; but finding those methods ineffectual, he was at length so incensed, that he turned him out of doors.

Patience surmounted this difficulty, till his father's affection had subdued his anger, who then sent him to France^d, in company with some persons of quality, that were making a tour thither. He continued there a considerable time, till a quite different conversation had diverted his mind from the serious thoughts of religion : and upon his return, his father finding him not only a good proficient in the French tongue, but also perfectly accomplished with a polite and courtly behaviour, joyfully received him, hoping his point was gained ; and indeed for sometime after his return from France, his carriage was such as justly intitled him to the character of a complete young gentleman.

Great, about this time, was his spiritual conflict^e : his natural inclination, his lively and active disposition, his acquired accomplishments, his father's favour, the respect of his friends and acquaintance, did strongly press him to embrace the glory and pleasures of this world, then, as it were, courting and caressing him, in the bloom of youth, to accept them. Such a combined force might seem almost invincible ; but the earnest supplication of his soul being to the Lord for preservation, he was pleased to grant him such a portion of his holy power and spirit, as enabled him in due time to overcome all opposition, and with an holy resolution to follow Christ whatsoever reproaches or persecutions might attend him.

About the year 1666, and the 22d of his age, his father committed to his care and management a considerable estate in Ireland, which occasioned his residence in that country. Being at Cork, he was informed by one of the people called Quakers, that Thomas Loe, whom we mentioned before, was to be shortly at a meeting in that city ; he went to hear him, who be-

^d 1662.^e 1664.

gan his declaration with these words, "There is a
 " faith that overcomes the world, and there is a faith
 " that is overcome by the world;" upon which subject he enlarged with much clearness and energy. By the living and powerful testimony of this man, which had made some impression upon his spirit ten years before, he was now thoroughly and effectually convinced, and afterwards constantly attended the meetings of that people, even through the heat of persecution.

On the third of the 9th month, 1667, being again at a meeting in Cork, he, with many others, were apprehended and carried before the mayor, who observing that his dress discovered not the Quaker, would have set him at liberty, upon bond for his good behaviour; which he refusing, was, with about eighteen others, committed to prison. He had, during his abode in Ireland, contracted an intimate acquaintance with many of the nobility and gentry, and, being now a prisoner, wrote the following letter.

To the Earl of ORRERY, Lord President of Munster.

' **T**H E occasion may seem as strange, as my cause
 ' is just; but your lordship will no less express
 ' your charity in the one, than your justice in the
 ' other.'

' Religion, which is at once my crime and mine
 ' innocence, makes me a prisoner to a mayor's malice,
 ' but mine own free-man; for being in the assembly
 ' of the people called Quakers, there came several
 ' constables, backed with soldiers, rudely and arbitrarily requiring every man's appearance before the
 ' mayor, and amongst others, violently haled me with
 ' them: upon my coming before him, he charged me
 ' for being present at a tumultuous and riotous assembly; and unless I would give bond for my good behaviour, who challenge the world to accuse me justly with the contrary, he would commit me. I asked
 ' for his authority; for I humbly conceive without an
 ' act of parliament, or an act of state, it might be
 ' justly

‘ justly termed too much officiousness : his answer was,
 “ A proclamation in the year 1660, and new instruc-
 “ tions to revive that dead and antiquated order.” ‘ I
 ‘ leave your lordship to be judge, if that proclamation
 ‘ relates to this concernment ; that only was designed
 ‘ to suppress fifth-monarchy killing spirits ; and since
 ‘ the king’s lord-lieutenant and yourself, being fully
 ‘ persuaded the intention of these called Quakers, by
 ‘ their meetings, was really the service of God, have
 ‘ therefore manifested a repeal, by a long continuance
 ‘ of freedom, I hope your lordship will not now begin
 ‘ an unusual severity, by indulging so much malice in
 ‘ one, whose actions favour ill with his nearest neigh-
 ‘ bours, but that there may be a speedy releasement
 ‘ to all, for attending their honest callings, with the
 ‘ enjoyment of their families, and not to be longer
 ‘ separated from both.’

‘ And though to dissent from a national system, im-
 ‘ posed by authority, renders men hereticks, yet I dare
 ‘ believe your lordship is better read in reason and
 ‘ theology, than to subscribe a maxim so vulgar and
 ‘ untrue ; for imagining most visible constitutions
 ‘ of religious government suited to the nature and
 ‘ genius of a civil empire, it cannot be esteemed
 ‘ heresy, but to scare a multitude from such enquiries
 ‘ as may create divisions, fatal to a civil policy, and
 ‘ therefore at worst deserves only the name of dis-
 ‘ turbers.’

‘ But I presume, my lord, the acquaintance you
 ‘ have had with other countries, must needs have fur-
 ‘ nished you with this infallible observation, That di-
 ‘ versities of faith and worship contribute not to the
 ‘ disturbance of any place, where moral uniformity
 ‘ is barely requisite to preserve the peace. It is not
 ‘ long since you were a good solicitor for the liberty
 ‘ I now crave, and concluded no way so effectual to
 ‘ improve or advantage this country, as to dispense
 ‘ with freedom in things relating to conscience ; and,
 ‘ I suppose, were it riotous or tumultuary, as by some
 ‘ vainly imagined, your lordship’s inclination, as well

‘ as duty, would entertain a very remote opinion.
 ‘ My humble supplication therefore to you is, that
 ‘ so malicious and injurious a practice to innocent
 ‘ Englishmen, may not receive any countenance or
 ‘ encouragement from your lordship; for as it is con-
 ‘ trary to the practice elsewhere, and a bad argument
 ‘ to invite English hither, so, with submission, will it
 ‘ not resemble that clemency and English spirit that
 ‘ hath hitherto made you honourable.’

‘ If in this case I may have used too great a li-
 ‘ berty, it is my subject; nor shall I doubt your par-
 ‘ don, since by your authority I expect a favour,
 ‘ which never will be used unworthy an honest man,
 ‘ and

‘ Your Lordship’s faithful, &c.

‘ W. P.’

His request in the letter, so far as related to himself, was quickly granted, for the earl forthwith ordered his discharge.

His late imprisonment was so far from terrifying him, that it strengthened him in his resolution of a closer union with that people, whose religious innocence was the only crime they suffered for.

And now his more open joining with the Quakers, brought him under that reproachful name: his companions wanted compliments and caresses, were changed into scoffs and derision: he was made a by-word, scorn, and contempt, both to professors and profane; to the latter, for being religious, and to the former, for having a better than theirs.

His father being informed by letter from a nobleman of his acquaintance, what danger his son was in of being proselyted to Quakerism, remanded him home, and he readily obeyed. Upon his return, although there was no great alteration in his dress, yet his manner of deportment, and the solid concern of mind he appeared to be under, were manifest indications of the truth of the information his father had received, who thereupon attacked him afresh: and here my pen is diffident
 of

of her abilities to describe that most pathetick and moving contest which was betwixt his father and him. His father, actuated by natural love, principally aiming at his son's temporal honour; he, guided by a divine impulse, having chiefly in view his own eternal welfare: his father, grieved to see the well-accomplished son of his hopes, now ripe for worldly promotion, voluntarily turn his back on it; he, no less afflicted, to think that a compliance with his earthly father's pleasure, was inconsistent with an obedience to his heavenly one: his father, pressing his conformity to the customs and fashions of the times; he, modestly craving leave to refrain from what would hurt his conscience: his father earnestly intreating him, and almost on his knees beseeching him, to yield to his desire; he, of a loving and tender disposition, in an extreme agony of spirit, to behold his father's concern and trouble: his father threatening to disinherit him; he, humbly submitting to his father's will therein: his father turning his back on him in anger; he, lifting up his heart to God, for strength to support him in that time of trial.

And here we may not omit to give our reader a particular and observable instance of his sincerity. His father finding him too fixt to be brought to a general compliance with the customary compliments of the times, seemed inclinable to have borne with him in other respects, provided he would be uncovered in the presence of the king, the duke, and himself: this being proposed, he desired time to consider of, which his father supposing to be with an intention of consulting his friends, the Quakers, about it, he assured him that he would see the face of none of them, but retire to his chamber till he should return him an answer. Accordingly he withdrew, and having humbled himself before God, with fasting and supplication, to know his heavenly mind and will, he became so strengthened in his resolution, that returning to his father, he humbly signified, that he could not comply with his desire therein.

When all endeavours proved ineffectual to shake his constancy, and his father saw himself utterly disappointed of his hopes, he could no longer endure him in his sight, but turned him out of doors the second time. Thus exposed to the charity of his friends, having no other subsistence, (except what his mother privately sent him) he endured the cross with a christian patience and magnanimity, comforting himself with the promise of Christ, “ Verily, I say unto you, there is
 “ no man that hath left house, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of
 “ God’s sake, who shall not receive manifold more in
 “ this present time, and in the world to come life
 “ everlasting.” Luke xviii. 29, 30.

After a considerable time, his steady perseverance evincing his integrity, his father’s wrath became somewhat mollified, so that he winked at his return to, and continuance in, his family; and though he did not publicly seem to countenance him, yet when imprisoned for being at meetings, he would privately use his interest to get him released.

About the year 1668, being the 24th of his age, he first came forth in the work of the ministry, rightly called to, and qualified for, that office; being sent of God to teach others what himself had learned of him: commissioned from on high, to preach to others that holy self-denial himself had practised: to recommend to all that serenity and peace of conscience himself had felt: walking in the Light, to call others out of darkness: having drank of the water of life, to direct others to the same fountain: having tasted of the heavenly bread, to invite all men to partake of the same banquet: being redeemed by the power of CHRIST, he was sent to call others from under the dominion of Satan, into the glorious liberty of the sons of God, that they might receive remission of sins, and an inheritance among them that are sanctified, through faith in Jesus Christ.

About

About this time he writ to a young person of his acquaintance, by way of caution, against the follies and vanities of the world, the following letter, viz.

Navy-Office, 10th of the 5th Month, 1668.

‘FRIEND,

‘ **I** T was a true word spoke by Jesus Christ, to undeceive all those careless wanton Jews, among whom he manifested his glorious truth, through that body prepared of God for that very end, that the way which leads to everlasting life and rest, was very strait and narrow. My friend, how much may it import the welfare of thy immortal soul, to reflect upon that course of life and way thou now art walking in, before an evident stroke from heaven call thee hence, and send thy so much indulged flesh and blood into the grave; an entertainment for no better than noisome worms! I beg thee, as ever thou wouldst be saved from that unspeakable anguish, which is reserved for worldlings, and from whence there is no redemption, to keep thyself from those vanities, follies, and pollutions, which unavoidably bring that miserable state. Alas! How incongruous, or unsuitable, is thy life and practice, with those holy women of old, whose time was mostly spent in heavenly retirements, out of that rattle, noise, and conversation thou art in! And canst thou imagine that those holy men, recorded in scripture, spent their days as do the gallants of these times? Where is the self-denying life of Jesus, the cross, the reproach, the persecution, and loss of all, which he and his suffered, and most willingly supported, having their eyes all fixed upon a more enduring substance? Well, my friend, this know, and by these shalt thou be judged, and in it I am clear, that as without holiness none can see God, so without subjection to that spirit, light, or grace in the heart, which God in love hath made to appear to all,

“ that

“ that teacheth to deny all ungodliness and worldly
 “ lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in
 “ this present world ;” I say, without subjection here-
 ‘ unto, there is no attaining to that holiness which
 ‘ will give thee an entrance into his presence, in which
 ‘ is joy and pleasure for ever. And examine with thy-
 ‘ self, how remote thou art from the guidings and in-
 ‘ structions of this spirit of grace, who canst counte-
 ‘ nance this age in frequenting their wicked and vain
 ‘ sports, plays and entertainments, conforming thyself
 ‘ to ridiculous customs, and making one at idle talk-
 ‘ ing and vain jesting, wheresoever thou comest, not
 ‘ considering thou shalt account with the dreadful God
 ‘ for every idle word. And let all thy frolick asso-
 ‘ ciates know, their day is hastening, in which they
 ‘ shall not abide the presence of him that sits upon
 ‘ the throne. It shall be a time of horror, amazement,
 ‘ and distress : then shall they know there is a righ-
 ‘ teous holy judge of all. As for thee, with pity is
 ‘ thy condition often in my thoughts ; and often is it
 ‘ my desire that thou mayest do well : but whilst I
 ‘ see thee in that spirit which favours of this world’s
 ‘ delights, ease, plenty, and esteem, neglecting that
 ‘ one thing necessary, I have but little hopes. How-
 ‘ ever, I could not let this plain admonition pass me ;
 ‘ and what place soever it may have in thy thoughts,
 ‘ I am sure it is in true love to that which shall be
 ‘ happy or miserable to all eternity. I have not
 ‘ sought fine words, or chiming expressions ; the gra-
 ‘ vity, the concernment and nature of my subject
 ‘ admits no such butter-flies. In short, be advised,
 ‘ my friend, to be serious, and to ponder that which
 ‘ belongs to thy eternal peace. Retire from the noise
 ‘ and clatter of tempting visibles, to the beholding
 ‘ Him who is invisible, that he may reign in thy soul,
 ‘ God over all, exalted and blessed for ever ! Farewel.

‘ I am thy well-wishing, real friend,

‘ W. P.’

This

This year was published the first of his printed works, under the title of “Truth Exalted;” which is retained in this Collection.

About this time^f, two of the hearers of one Thomas Vincent, a presbyter in the Spittle-Yard, came over to the Quakers: their pastor thereat transported with fiery zeal, (a thing fertile of ill language) railing to his auditory, accused the Quakers of holding most erroneous and damnable doctrines. This coming to our author's ears, he, together with George Whitehead, demanded of Vincent an opportunity to defend themselves and friends: a conference was agreed to be held at his own meeting-house, at which several points of doctrine were started and debated, but nothing fairly determined: from hence our author took occasion to write a little book, intituled, “The Sandy Foundation shaken,” which gave great offence to some then at the helm of the church, who presently took the old method of reforming what they call error, by advancing at once their strongest argument, viz. ‘An order for imprisoning him in the Tower of London.’ There was he under close confinement, and even denied the visits of his friends: but yet his enemies attained not their purpose; for when, after some time, his servant brought him word, that the bishop of London was resolved he should either publicly recant, or die a prisoner, he made this reply: ‘All is well: I wish they had told me so before, since the expecting of a release put a stop to some business. Thou mayest tell my father, who I know will ask thee, these words: that my prison shall be my grave, before I will budge a jot; for I owe my conscience to no mortal man: I have no need to fear, God will make amends for all: they are mistaken in me; I value not their threats and resolutions; for they shall know I can weary out their malice and peevishness; and in me shall they all behold a resolution above fear; conscience above cruelty; and a baffle put to all their de-

^f 1668.

‘ signs,

‘ signs, by the spirit of patience, the companion of all
 ‘ the tribulated flock of the blessed Jesus, who is the
 ‘ author and finisher of the faith that overcomes the
 ‘ world, yea, death and hell too: neither great nor
 ‘ good things were ever attained without loss and hard-
 ‘ ships. He that would reap, and not labour, must
 ‘ faint with the wind, and perish in disappointments;
 ‘ but an hair of my head shall not fall, without the pro-
 ‘ vidence of my Father that is over all.’

A spirit warmed with the love of God, and devoted to his service, ever pursues its main purpose: our author, restrained from preaching, applied himself to writing: several treatises were the fruits of his solitude, particularly that excellent one, intituled, “ No Cross, “ No Crown; ” a book which tending to promote the general design of religion, was well accepted, and hath passed sundry impressions.

He also writ from the tower the following Letter to Lord Arlington.

To the Lord ARLINGTON.

‘ **I** Know none to whom this paper may so properly
 ‘ be directed as thyself: for as thou art principal
 ‘ secretary of state, the person to whom I surrendered
 ‘ myself, by whose warrant I was committed, and who
 ‘ was pleased to come to this place to take my exami-
 ‘ nation about a note that was by some suspected to
 ‘ have dropt from me the day of my surrender;
 ‘ so the great civility I found, and the candid promises
 ‘ thou wast pleased to give me of thy assistance, as
 ‘ well there as here, are great encouragements not
 ‘ only to present thee with this brief remonstrance,
 ‘ which by the mouth of one of thy attendants may
 ‘ easily be run over, but to expect an answer altoge-
 ‘ ther suitable.

‘ Truly were I as criminal as my adversaries have
 ‘ been pleased to represent me, it might become me
 ‘ to bear my present sufferings, without the least re-
 ‘ sentment of injustice done; and to esteem a vindi-
 ‘ cation

‘ cation of my cause, an aggravation of my guilt :
 ‘ but since it is so notorious that common fame hath
 ‘ maliciously belied me, and that, from invisible testi-
 ‘ monies, I stand not guilty of what mine adversaries
 ‘ would have so peremptorily fastened on me ; confessing
 ‘ that ETERNAL DEITY of CHRIST ; what better in-
 ‘ terpretation can be given of their zeal, than meer
 ‘ peevishness, and their great learning, than foul igno-
 ‘ rance ? Strange, that men esteemed Christians, should
 ‘ seem so indefatigable in writing, preaching, and dis-
 ‘ coursing down the reputation of an innocent man,
 ‘ by the most foul aspersions, black characters, and ex-
 ‘ asperating imputations, that spirits most incendiary
 ‘ could invent or collect ; in a word, to banish me the
 ‘ world, forbid me heaven, and furiously denounce
 ‘ me sequestered of all, with the reserve of hell only,
 ‘ and there itself have intituled me to the last and most
 ‘ dismal station ! But what is more admirable, those
 ‘ very persons have all this while mistaken the very
 ‘ question, and in reality have been accusing their own
 ‘ shadows, making me suffer their punishment, who
 ‘ least of all, sincerely, am concerned in their heat.
 ‘ Others there be, I know, who

----- *Crimina Rafis*

Librant in Antitibetis ----

‘ can insinuate their displeasure under more plausible
 ‘ expressions,

----- *doctas posuisse figuras*

Laudantur -----

‘ and consequently more securely to themselves, though
 ‘ less to me, may obtain their ends : but to indulge
 ‘ those poor pretences, and give reception to those
 ‘ threadbare and hackney phrases of seditious fellow,
 ‘ erroneous person, factious, and troublesome to the
 ‘ state, under the counterfeit of illumination, &c.
 ‘ methinks needs not a jury of twelve to convict them
 ‘ of very great indiscretion ; as well as I am persuaded
 ‘ they have no room with thee. However, mine ad-
 ‘ versaries ammunition hath been worse bestowed than
 ‘ upon wool-sacks, who have, alas, got to their old
 ‘ whimsies

whimsies of fancying enemies in the air, wherein they
 have been so hotly skirmishing, that hard it is to per-
 suade them they only dream, and make reality of
 fictions: my common residence is on a more solid
 bottom. But, as I am willing to believe, had my
 innocency been well observed, my confinement should
 not have given so great an approbation of their im-
 postures; so, on the other hand, since they are un-
 questionably manifested to be such, and that the
 more moderate of the authors have given their re-
 tractations in publick conversation, expressing their
 great trouble to have so readily entertained and pro-
 moted such foul aspersions, to the incensing of the
 civil magistrate against me; the cause, I say, being
 thus removed, it is time the undeserved effect should
 cease, otherwise my liberty seems to be sacrificed to
 the inordinate passions of the most inveterate part
 of a faction, or strongly to confirm those in their
 conjectures and reports, who confidently have told
 it up and down, that my restraint is not continued
 on any religious matter, but for some points deeply
 concerning the safety of the king, both most unwor-
 thy the equity, greatness, and honour of authority.
 But alas! shall these impudent forgeries, and ma-
 licious aggravations, longer prevail against a man
 that hath broke no law, despised no government, de-
 throned no deity, subverted no faith, obedience, or
 good life; but, in words and actions, hath incessant-
 ly endeavoured the effectual promotion of all.

What if I differ from some religious apprehen-
 sions? am I therefore incompatible with the being
 of human societies? Shall it not be remembered with
 what success kingdoms and common wealths have
 lived under the balance of diverse parties? and if the
 politicks of the most judicious and acute inquisitors
 after these affairs are of any worth, they are not at a
 stand in delivering their sense with great sharpness,
 “That it is the securest prop of all monarchical go-
 vernments.” Let it not be forgotten, that under
 the Jewish constitution, the utmost they required

from

‘ from strangers, to entitle them to freedom, was an
‘ acknowledgment to the Noachical precepts, (never
‘ denied by me); nor was it better with them in latter
‘ days, than whilst the Pharisees, Scribes, Essians,
‘ Sadducees, &c. had the free exercise of their con-
‘ sciences, all differing among themselves. Neither
‘ was it otherwise amongst the infidels: who knows
‘ not that almost every family and tribe in Rome had
‘ its particular *Sacra*? nay, the Egyptian Isis and Se-
‘ rapis obtained a place for publick temples, and di-
‘ vine honours, among those wise people. Nor can I
‘ omit the great candor of (that otherwise most inhu-
‘ man) Tiberius to the Christians, who, if Eusebius
‘ Pamphilus be to be credited, not only made it death
‘ for any to persecute the Christians, but had a rare
‘ good opinion of Christ, and the Christian faith,
‘ though both were so immediately destructive of his
‘ religion and the whole world’s. Nay, since the
‘ Christian times, who is not a stranger to ecclesiastical
‘ story, and doth not know the great variety of opi-
‘ nions that reigned in Egypt, Constantinople, An-
‘ tioch and Alexandria; indeed, where not? nor do I
‘ read it ever entered into the hearts of any to molest
‘ them. And had not secular power been the Diana
‘ and great goddesses courted by the Arians and Anti-
‘ Arians, they might have lived with great security in
‘ their sentiments, and not have troubled the whole
‘ world, and perplexed themselves for so many ages.
‘ And they who will reflect upon the carriage of both
‘ those parties, may find reasons enough to dread the
‘ apprehensions of a faction, and palpably discover
‘ and read the natural, but fatal consequences that
‘ unavoidably follow the exaltation of a single party,
‘ to the detriment of others, rather than to keep a
‘ moderate and well-advised balance upon all. This
‘ maxim Socrates Scholasticus reports to have been
‘ not unseen, nor wholly unpractised by the great
‘ wisdom of the emperor Jovianus, first suggested by
‘ his beloved friend and philosopher Themistius, whose
‘ time, though short, had a most differing success
‘ from

‘ from all that went before, or followed after him, and
‘ more than a little confirms my present consideration.
‘ I shall omit the recital of later and present testimo-
‘ nies : In Europe they are fresh, and in our sight.
‘ It is not the property of religion to persecute re-
‘ ligion ; that scorns to employ those weapons to her
‘ defence, that others have used to her depression. It
‘ is her privilege alone to conquer, naked of force or
‘ artifice : and that person who hath not the election
‘ of his religion, hath none.

‘ For my own part, I know not any unfit for poli-
‘ tical societies, but those who maintain principles de-
‘ structive of industry, fidelity, justice and obedience,
‘ in all matters relative of them, (wherefore the Ro-
‘ mans exiled their *Mathematicos*) which neither my-
‘ self, nor any Quaker living, can with any shew of
‘ reason be charged withal. But to conceit that men
‘ must form their faith of things proper to another
‘ world, by the prescriptions of mortal men, or else
‘ they can have no right to eat, drink, sleep, walk,
‘ trade, be at liberty, or live in this, to me seems
‘ both ridiculous and dangerous. Since it is most
‘ certain, the understanding can never be convinced
‘ by other arguments than what are adequate to its
‘ own nature ; which force is so remote from, that as
‘ it abundantly expresseth passion or ignorance in those
‘ who use it, so experimentally do we find, that it is
‘ not only unsuccessful, by confirming persons that
‘ really have reasons on their side, but greatly ob-
‘ durates also the unreasonable, who forget their own
‘ weakness, by gazing on their persecutors, being
‘ well assured, that whosoever is in the right, he al-
‘ ways is in the wrong, that by club-law and corpo-
‘ ral extremities thinks to illuminate and convince the
‘ understanding : it may make hypocrites, not con-
‘ verts ; and if I am at any time convinced, I will
‘ pay the honour of it to truth, and not to base and
‘ timorous hypocrisy. Nor, indeed, are such inqui-
‘ ries material, as well as that it is unlawful to make
‘ so diligent search for conscience, and that in case
‘ they

' they find her without the mark of publick allow-
 ' ance, and that she pays no custom, she must be
 ' there forfeited. For who loves to ask at any shop,
 ' of what religion the master is, and not rather what
 ' is his price for this or that commodity? It therefore
 ' greatly were the king's interest to clear the prisons
 ' of all conscientious persons, especially since unifor-
 ' mity of mind is not less impossible in all punctilios,
 ' than is exact resemblance in visage, and men must
 ' be new-made in both respects, before they can be
 ' changed to gratify such desires.

' However my case is singular, since wholly guilt-
 ' less of what was charged against me; and if the
 ' observation of Tacitus on Lingonius's various case
 ' be of any force, who, though he did deserve punish-
 ' ment inflicted, yet because it was done without exa-
 ' mination, and due conviction, saith Tacitus, " He
 ' suffered unlawfully;" then for a greater reason
 ' must my confinement seem injurious, who have been
 ' shut up above these six months, under a strict and
 ' close imprisonment, from many common comforts
 ' and necessary concerns of life, without the least
 ' formal cause or reason why exhibited against me,
 ' contrary, I conceive, to the natural privilege of an
 ' Englishman.

' My hopes are, I shall not longer continue a pri-
 ' soner, merely to assure the world I am not innocent
 ' of what in very truth I am not guilty; nor yet that
 ' matters of lighter moment be sought to prolong
 ' my restraint, because as yet there is no law to de-
 ' prive an inoffensive Englishman of so great and
 ' eminent a right as liberty: since this were too near-
 ' ly to resemble the lamentable case of the innocent
 ' daughter of guilty Sejanus, who, because the Ro-
 ' man laws allowed not virgins to be strangled, was
 ' first deflowered, that she might be. My life shall
 ' go before my chastity, let men contrive what they
 ' will. But, above all, methinks the name Christian
 ' imports so holy, so just, and so condescending a
 ' disposition, that these severities can have no plea

‘ from such as have truly entitled themselves unto it.
‘ For my own share, as it is my principle (as I have
‘ declared) to live myself, and encourage others, in the
‘ pursuit of just, sober, and industrious courses (which
‘ are the true grounds of all civil societies, and only
‘ ways to their prosperity) so in whatever I differ from
‘ the publick establishment, it shall never find me
‘ remiss therein.

‘ But I beseech thee to intreat the king, on my ac-
‘ count, not to believe every man to be his enemy,
‘ that cannot shape his conscience by the narrow forms
‘ and prescripts of mens inventions; and the personal
‘ obligations, besides the publick respect that I owe
‘ him, but above all, the holy forgiving TRUTH I
‘ profess, will never admit of such a thing; nor do
‘ we own one principle that will not, instead of acting
‘ us to his prejudice, at all times in our stations fit us
‘ to dispute with any (in civil matters) the first place
‘ of obedience to his commands, our consciences being
‘ left unprescribed.

‘ To conclude: since my adversaries have overshot
‘ the mark, that the accusation is fictitious, and many
‘ of them have publicly retracted their first opinions
‘ of the matter, after so strict an imprisonment, with-
‘ out any legal cause, or just procedure, contrary to
‘ the privileges of every Englishman, as well as the
‘ meekness, forbearance, and compassion inseparable
‘ from true Christianity; I think it is time, and I desire
‘ I may be ordered a release, to follow my ordinary
‘ employments: but if it should yet be scrupled, or
‘ denied, upon the least dissatisfaction unremoved, I
‘ intreat the favour of access to the king, where I shall
‘ freely and justly answer to all such interrogatories as
‘ may concern my present case: or if that will not be
‘ allowed, that it would please thee to give me a
‘ full hearing to all such objections as may be thought
‘ to carry any weight; that so if I must remain a pri-
‘ soner, it may be known for what; and in the mean
‘ time that such liberty may be granted me, as is
‘ customary for other prisoners to enjoy, after the first
‘ or

‘ or second month of their imprisonment, the season
‘ especially considered.

‘ I make no apology for my letter as a trouble, the
‘ usual stile of suppliants; because I think the honour
‘ that will accrue to thee, by being just, and releasing
‘ the oppressed, exceeds the advantage that can succeed
‘ to me: worthy and generous minds gladly embrace
‘ occasions to assist the helpless, and then are most
‘ ready to afford them their assistance, when nothing
‘ is to be got besides the hazard of expressing it. And
‘ I am well assured the kindness and justice it shall
‘ please thee to employ on that account, can never
‘ miss of a plentiful reward from God, and praise of
‘ all virtuous men.

‘ Thy true friend, who suffers wrongfully, which
‘ the Lord God forgive, if he so please,

‘ 1st of the 5th Month,
‘ 1669.’

‘ W. P.’

And in order to clear himself from the aspersions cast upon him, in relation to the “doctrines of the Trinity, the incarnation and satisfaction of CHRIST,” he published a little book called, “Innocency with her open face,” by way of apology for the aforesaid “Sandy Foundation shaken.” In this apology he so successfully vindicated himself, that soon after the publication of it, he was discharged from his imprisonment, which had been of about seven months continuance.

On the 15th of the 7th month this year, he set out again from London for Ireland, took shipping at Bristol on the 24th of the 8th month, and on the 26th arrived at Cork. In his passage thither, we think the following occurrence worth relating: ‘At his former
‘ coming from Ireland, the conversation and society
‘ of a person called a Quaker, who came over in the
‘ same vessel, was a strengthening and encouragement
‘ to him then newly convinced. This man now hap-

‘pened to return thither again in his company, and observing how effectually the power of truth had wrought upon our author, and the great progress he through a sincere obedience had made in his journey heavenward, and seeing himself not only overtaken, but left far behind, by one that had set out after him, was led to a solid reflection upon his own negligence and unfaithfulness, and expressed, with many tears, a renewed visitation and deep concern upon his spirit.’ So forcible is the example of the faithful, to the stirring up an holy zeal and emulation in others.

Being arrived at Cork, he immediately visited his friends imprisoned there, and the next day had a meeting with them, in which they were spiritually refreshed and comforted together: having tarried there some days, he went from thence to Dublin, and on the 5th of the 9th month, was at the national meeting of friends there, which was held at his lodgings. At this meeting, an account of his friends sufferings being drawn up, by way of address, he presented the same a few days after to the lord-lieutenant.

During his stay in Ireland, though his business in the care of his father’s estate took up a considerable part of his time, yet was he frequently present at, and preached in, friends meetings, especially at Dublin and Cork, in one of which places he usually resided. He also wrote during his residence there, several treatises, particularly, “A Letter to the Young Convinced.” He very frequently visited his friends in prison, and had meetings with them; nor did he let slip any opportunity he had with those in authority, to solicit on their behalf: and in the beginning of the 4th month, 1670, through his repeated applications to the chancellor, the lord Arran, and the lord-lieutenant, an order of council was obtained for their release. Having settled his father’s concerns to satisfaction, and done his own friends many signal services, he shortly after returned into England.

In this year 1670, came forth the conventicle-act, prohibiting dissenters meetings, under severe penalties: the edge of this new weapon was presently turned up-on the Quakers, who, not accustomed to flinch in the cause of religion, stood most exposed. Being forcibly kept out of their meeting-house in Gracechurch-street, they met as near it in the street as they could, and William Penn there preaching, was apprehended. and by warrant from Sir Samuel Starling, then lord mayor of London, dated August 14th, 1670, committed to Newgate, and at the next sessions at the Old-Bailey, was, (together with William Mead) indicted for being present at, and preaching to, an unlawful, seditious, and riotous assembly. At his trial he made a brave defence, discovering at once both the free spirit of an Englishman, and the undaunted magnanimity of a Christian, insomuch that notwithstanding the most partial frowns and menaces of the bench, the jury acquitted him. The trial itself, with a preface and appendix thereunto, as it was soon after published, are inserted in this collection.

Not long after this trial, and his discharge from Newgate, his father died, perfectly reconciled to his son, and left him both his paternal blessing, and a plentiful estate. His death-bed expressions, being very instructive and pathetick, deserve a double reading^s. He was buried in Radcliffe steeple-house in the city of Bristol; and over, or near, his sepulchre, is erected a fair monument, with the following inscription:

“ To the just memory of Sir William Penn, knight,
 “ and sometimes General; born at Bristol, anno
 “ 1621, son of captain Giles Penn, several years
 “ consul for the English in the Mediterranean, of
 “ the Penns of Penslodge in the county of Wilts,
 “ and those Penns of Penn in the county of Bucks;
 “ and, by his mother, from the Gilberts in the

§ See them in a Treatise intituled, “ No Cross, No Crown,” inserted in this Collection.

“ county of Somerset, originally from Yorkshire;
 “ addicted from his youth to maritime affairs: he
 “ was made captain at the years of twenty-one, rear-
 “ admiral of Ireland at twenty-three, vice-admi-
 “ ral of Ireland at twenty-five, admiral to the
 “ streights at twenty-nine, vice-admiral of Eng-
 “ land at thirty-one, and general in the first Dutch
 “ war at thirty-two: whence returning, anno 1655,
 “ he was parliament-man for the town of Wey-
 “ mouth: 1660, made commissioner of the admi-
 “ ralty, and navy, governor of the town and fort
 “ of Kingfale, vice-admiral of Munster, and a
 “ member of that provincial council; and anno
 “ 1664, was chosen great captain commander under
 “ his royal highness, in that signal and most evi-
 “ dently successful fight against the Dutch fleet.
 “ Thus he took leave of the sea, his old element,
 “ but continued still his other employs till 1669;
 “ at that time, through bodily infirmities, con-
 “ tracted by the care and fatigue of publick affairs,
 “ he withdrew, prepared, and made for his end;
 “ and, with a gentle and even gale, in much peace
 “ arrived and anchored in his last and best port, at
 “ Wanstead in the county of Essex, the 16th of
 “ September, 1670, being then but forty-nine years
 “ and four months old.

“ To his name and memory his surviving Lady
 “ hath erected this remembrance.”

About this time a publick dispute was held at West
 Wiccomb in Buckinghamshire, between him and one
 Jeremy Ives, a celebrated Baptist. The subject was,
 “ The universality of the divine light,” which Ives
 had undertaken to disprove, and came furnished with
 a stock of syllogisms ready framed for his purpose. It
 was his place, as opponent, to speak first; which as
 soon as he had done (being sensible that his argu-
 ments stood in their greatest force while unanswered)
 he stepped down from his seat, and, with an intention
 of breaking up the assembly, departed. Some of his
 own

own party followed him; but the generality of the people tarrying, W. Penn had an opportunity of answering, which he did to the great satisfaction of the auditory.

In the ninth month of this year being at Oxford, and observing the cruel usage and persecution his innocent friends underwent there from the hands of the junior scholars, too much by the connivance of their superiors, he wrote a letter to the vice-chancellor on that subject.

This winter having his residence at Penn in Buckinghamshire, he published a book intituled, "A reasonable caveat against Popery," wherein he both exposes and confutes many erroneous doctrines of the church of Rome, and establishes the opposite truths by sound arguments: a work alone sufficient, on the one hand, to wipe off the calumny cast upon him of being a favourer of the Romish religion; and, on the other, to shew, that his principle being for an universal liberty of conscience, he would have had it extended even to the Papists themselves, under a security of their not persecuting others. The book itself being a better vindication of its author in these points than any thing we can here say, is recommended to our reader's serious perusal.

On the 5th of the 12th month this year, being at a meeting in Wheeler-street, a serjeant with soldiers came and planted themselves at the door, where they waited till he stood up and preached, and then the serjeant pulled him down, and led him into the street, where a constable and his assistants standing ready to join them, they carried him away to the Tower, by order from the lieutenant, then at White-Hall, to inform him of the success. After about three hours time, it being evening, he came home, and W. Penn was sent for from the guard, by an officer with a file of musqueteers. There were several in company with Sir John Robinson, the lieutenant of the Tower; namely, Sir Samuel Starling, Sir John Shelden, Lieutenant-colonel Rycraft, and others. Orders being

given that no person should be admitted up unconcerned in the business, they proceeded to his examination, of which we find the following account given by an eye and ear witness; viz.

Sir John Robinson. What is this person's name?

[Note, *The Mittimus was already made, and his name put in.*]

Const. Mr. Penn, Sir.

J. R. Is your name Penn?

W. P. Dost thou not know me? Hast thou forgot me?

J. R. I do not know you? I do not desire to know such as you are.

W. P. If not, why didst thou send for me hither?

J. R. Is that your name, Sir?

W. P. Yes, yes, my name is Penn; thou knowest it is; I am not ashamed of my name.

J. R. Constable, where did you find him?

Const. At Wheeler-street, at a meeting, speaking to the people.

J. R. You mean he was speaking to an unlawful assembly?

Const. I do not know indeed, Sir; he was there, and he was speaking.

J. R. Give them their oaths.

W. P. Hold, do not swear the men; there is no need of it: I freely acknowledge I was at Wheeler-street, and that I spake to an assembly of people there.

J. R. *and several others.* He confesses it.

W. P. I do so; I am not ashamed of my testimony.

J. R. No matter; give them their oaths.

[Note, *They were sworn to answer such questions as should be asked, upon which they gave the evidence before given by the constable.*]

J. R. Mr. Penn, you know the law better than I can tell you; and you know these things are contrary to the law.

W. P. If thou believest me to be better known in the law than thyself, hear me; for I know no law I have

have transgressed. All laws are to be considered strictly and literally, or more explanatorily and lenitively. In the first sense, the execution of many laws may be *extrema injuria*, the greatest wrong: in the latter, wisdom and moderation: I would have thee make that part thy choice.

Now whereas I am probably to be tried by the late act against conventicles, I conceive it doth not reach me.

J. R. No, Sir, I shall not proceed upon that law.

W. P. What law then? I am sure that was intended for the standard on these occasions.

J. R. The Oxford-act of six months.

W. P. That, of all laws, cannot concern me; for first I was never in *orders*, neither episcopally nor classically, and one of them is intended by the preamble of the act.

J. R. No, no; any that speak in unlawful assemblies, and you spoke in an unlawful assembly.

W. P. Two things are to be considered. First, that the words, "Such as speak in any unlawful assemblies," alter the case much; for such is relative of the preamble, and cannot concern persons in any other qualification, than under some ordination or mark of priesthood. I am persuaded thou knowest I am no such person; I was never ordained, nor have I any particular charge or stipend, that may intitle me to such a function; and therefore I am wholly unconcerned in the word "such."

Secondly, An unlawful assembly is too general a word; the act doth not define to us what is meant by an unlawful assembly.

J. R. But other acts do.

W. P. That is not to the purpose; for that may be an unlawful assembly in one act, that may, by circumstances, not be so adjudged in another; and it is hard that you will not stick to some one act or law, but, to accomplish your ends, borrow a piece out of one act, to supply the defects of another, and of a different nature from it.

J. R.

J. R. Will you swear? Will you take the oath that the act requires of you?

W. P. This is not to the purpose.

J. R. Read him the oath.

The O A T H.

I W. P. do swear, that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king, and that I do abhor that traiterous position of taking arms, by his authority, against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such commissions, and that I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of government, either in church or state.'

J. R. Will you take it, or no?

W. P. What need I take an oath not to do that, it is my faith not to do, so far as concerns the king.

Lieut. Price. Then swear it.

W. P. The oath in that respect is already answered to all intents and purposes; for if I cannot fight against any man, (much less against the king) what need I take an oath not to do it? Should I swear not to do what is already against my conscience to do?

J. R. You will not take the oath then.

W. P. What if I refuse the oath, not because of the matter contained in it (which only can criminate in the sense of the act) but of scrupling any oath? Shall I therefore be committed to prison? This is most unequal. It was about FIGHTING the oath and act were designed, and not taking of oaths: therefore the denying to swear, when there is a denial to fight or plot, is no equitable ground for commitment.

J. R. Do you refuse to swear?

W. P. Yes, and that upon better grounds than those for which thou wouldst have me swear, if thou wilt please to hear me.

J. R. I am sorry you should put me upon this severity; it is no pleasant work to me.

W. P.

W. P. These are but words ; it is manifest that this is a prepenſe malice : thou haſt ſeveral times laid the meetings for me, and this day particularly.

J. R. No, I profeſs I could not tell you would be there.

W. P. Thine own corporal told me, that you had intelligence at the Tower that I would be at Wheeler-Street to-day, almoſt as ſoon as I knew it myſelf : it is diſingenous and partial ; I never gave thee occaſion for ſuch unkindneſs.

J. R. I knew no ſuch thing ; but if I had, I confeſs I ſhould have ſent for you.

W. P. That might have been ſpared, I do heartily believe it.

J. R. I vow, Mr. Penn, I am ſorry for you : you are an ingenious gentleman, all the world muſt allow you, and do allow you that ; and you have a plentiful eſtate : why ſhould you render yourſelf unhappy, by aſſociating with ſuch a ſimple people ?

W. P. I confeſs I have made it my choice to relinquish the company of thoſe that are ingeniouſly wicked, to converſe with thoſe that are more honeſtly ſimple.

J. R. I wiſh you wiſer.

W. P. And I wiſh thee better.

J. R. You have been as bad as other folks.

W. P. When, and where ? I charge thee to tell the company to my face.

J. R. Abroad, and at home too.

Sir John Shelden, [*as is ſuppoſed*]. No, no, Sir John, that is too much : [*or words to that purpoſe.*]

W. P. I make this bold challenge to all men, women, and children upon earth, juſtly to accuſe me with ever having ſeen me drunk, heard me ſwear, utter a curſe, or ſpeak one obſcene word, (much leſs that I ever made it my practice.) I ſpeak this to God's glory, that has ever preſerved me from the power of thoſe pollutions, and that from a child begot an hatred in me towards them. But there is nothing more common, than when men are of a more ſevere life than

than ordinary, for loose persons to comfort themselves with the conceit, 'That they were once as THEY are;' as if there were no collateral, or oblique line of the compass, or globe, men may be said to come from to the ARCTICK pole, but directly and immediately from the ANTARCTICK. Thy words shall be thy burden, and I trample thy slander as dirt under my feet.

J. R. Well, Mr. Penn, I have no ill will towards you; your father was my friend, and I have a great deal of kindness for you.

W. P. But thou hast an ill way of expressing it. You are grown too high to consider the plea of those you call your forefathers, for liberty of conscience against the Papists, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Bradford, &c. It was then plea good enough; "My conscience won't let me go to mafs," and "My conscience wills that I should have an English Testament."

But that single plea for separation, then reasonable, is now by you, that pretend to succeed them, adjudged unreasonable and factious.

I say, since the only just cause of the first revolt from Rome, was a dissatisfaction in point of conscience, you cannot reasonably persecute others who have right to the same plea, and allow that to be warrantable.

J. R. But you do nothing but stir up the people to sedition, and there was one of your friends that told me, you preached sedition, and meddled with the government.

W. P. We have the unhappiness to be misrepresented, and I am not the least concerned therein: bring me the man that will dare to justify this accusation to my face; and if I am not able to make it appear that it is both my practice, and all my friends, to instill principles of peace and moderation, (and only to war against spiritual wickedness, that all men may be brought to fear God and work righteousness) I shall contentedly undergo the severest punishment all your laws can expose me to,

And

And as for the king, I make this offer, That if any living can make appear, directly or indirectly, from the time I have been called a Quaker, (since from thence you date me seditious) I have contrived or acted any thing injurious to his person, or the English government, I shall submit my person to your utmost cruelties, and esteem them all but a due recompence. It is hard, that I being innocent, should be reputed guilty ! But the will of God be done ! I accept of bad report as well as good.

J. R. Well, I must send you to Newgate for six months ; and when they are expired, you will come out.

W. P. Is that all ? Thou well knowest a larger imprisonment has not daunted me : I accept it at the hand of the Lord, and am contented to suffer his will. Alas ! you mistake your interest ; you will miss your aim ; this is not the way to compass your ends.

J. R. You bring yourself into trouble : You will be the heading of parties, and drawing people after you.

W. P. Thou mistakest, there is no such way as this to render men remarkable : you are angry that I am considerable, and yet you take the very way to make me so, by making this bustle and stir about one peaceable person.

J. R. I wish your adhering to these things do not convert you to something at last.

W. P. I would have thee and all men to know, that I scorn that religion which is not worth suffering for, and able to sustain those that are afflicted for it : mine is ; and whatever may be my lot for my constant profession of it, I am no-ways careful, but resigned to answer the will of God, by the loss of goods, liberty, and life itself. When you have all, you can have no more, and then perhaps you will be contented, and by that you will be better informed of our innocency. THY religion PERSECUTES, and mine FORGIVES : and I desire my GOD to forgive you all, that are concerned in my commitment, and I leave you all in perfect charity, wishing your everlasting salvation.

J. R.

J. R. Send a corporal, with a file of musqueteers along with him.

W. P. No, no, send thy lacquey; I know the way to Newgate.

Being committed to this prison for six months, he filled up the time of his confinement by continual employs; and here he wrote "The Great Case of Liberty of conscience, once more briefly debated and defended," together with several other pieces of occasional controversy.

In the time of his imprisonment, the parliament being about to take measures for enforcing with greater severity the aforesaid conventicle act, he, whose freedom of spirit a prison could not confine from advocating the cause of liberty, wrote the following paper, directed

' To the High Court of Parliament.'

' **F**Orasmuch as it hath pleased you to make an act,
' intituled, "An act for suppressing seditious
' conventicles, the dangerous practices of seditious
' sectaries," &c. And that, under pretence of au-
' thority from it, many have taken the ungodly liberty
' of plundering, pillaging, and breaking into houses,
' to the ruin and detriment of whole families, not re-
' garding the poor, the widow, and the fatherless, be-
' yond all precedent or excuse; and that we are in-
' formed it is your purpose, instead of relaxing your
' hand, to supply the defects of that act by such ex-
' planatory clauses as will inevitably expose us to the
' fury and interest of our several adversaries, that un-
' der pretence of answering the intents of the said act,
' will only gratify their private humours, and doubt-
' less extend it beyond its original purpose, to the
' utter destruction of us and our suffering friends;

' We therefore esteem ourselves obliged in Christian
' duty, once more to remonstrate,

' First, That we own civil government, or magi-
' stracy, as God's ordinance for the punishment of evil
' doers,

doers, and the praise of them that do well; and though we cannot comply with those laws, that prohibit us to worship God according to our consciences, as believing it to be his alone prerogative to preside in matters of faith and worship, yet we both own, and are ready to yield obedience to, every ordinance of man relating to human affairs, and that for conscience sake.

Secondly, That we deny and renounce, as an horrible impiety, all plots and conspiracies, or to promote our interest, or religion, by the blood and destruction of such as dissent from us, or yet those that persecute us.

Thirdly, That in all revolutions we have demeaned ourselves with much peace and patience, (disowning all contrary actings) notwithstanding the numerous provocations of cruel and ungodly men; which is a demonstration of our harmless behaviour, that ought not to be of little moment with you.

Fourthly, That as we have ever lived most peaceably under all the various governments that have been since our first appearance (notwithstanding we have been as their anvil to smite upon) so we do hereby signify, that it is our fixed resolution to continue the same, that where we cannot ACTUALLY OBEY, WE PATIENTLY SHALL SUFFER, (leaving our innocent cause with God, not daring to love our lives unto the death, for our blessed testimony's sake,) thereby manifesting to the whole world, that we love God above all, and our neighbours as ourselves.

If this prevails not with you to suspend your thoughts of reinforcing your former act, we do desire that we, or some of our friends, may receive a free hearing from you, (as several of us had upon the first act for uniformity) having many great and weighty reasons to offer against all such severe proceedings, to the end all wrong measures of us and of our principles may be rectified, and that you, being better informed of both, may remove our
heavy

‘ heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free, for
 ‘ such moderation will be well-pleasing both to God
 ‘ and good men.

‘ From us who are now prisoners at Newgate (for
 ‘ conscience-sake) on the behalf of ourselves, and
 ‘ all our suffering friends in England, &c.’

‘ Newgate, Second
 ‘ Month, 1671.’

‘ W. PENN, and several others.’

The keepers of Newgate being at this time very abusive to the Quakers there imprisoned (for honest men bringing less grist to the jailor's mill than riotous debauchees, are hardly welcome guests) he wrote a letter, by way of complaint to the Sheriffs, who, that year, were men of good temper and moderation, being as follows.

‘ To the SHERIFFS of LONDON.’

‘ FRIENDS,

‘ **T**HOUGH we are a people, the plainness of
 ‘ whose principles will not admit of vain compliments, yet are we by them required to express
 ‘ our gratitude; and we must confess, that since your
 ‘ being in office, we have received many instances of
 ‘ your kindness, for which you never will be condemned
 ‘ of God or virtuous men, as well as that we send
 ‘ you by the bearer our acknowledgments.

‘ This done, we think fit to let you know, that
 ‘ though we are in a distinct house, yet not in a distinct
 ‘ capacity, with mere felons; unless it be, that they
 ‘ have a free prison, and we have none: for the keeper
 ‘ is so far from shewing us that common respect, or
 ‘ we enjoy that which differenced us from malefactors,
 ‘ that we are not less restrained, if not so much
 ‘ abused; for one of us desiring liberty to fetch some
 ‘ beer, the turnkey thrust him back, calling him loggerhead, puppy, rogue, &c. and that to several
 ‘ others.

‘ In

‘ In short, we are not willing to be bondsmen at
 ‘ our own cost; not for the value of our house-rent,
 ‘ with other additional expences, but for our testimony
 ‘ against the insulting menaces and extortions of some
 ‘ of the jailors, who would cast us into the common
 ‘ stinking jail! and therefore are resolved to undergo
 ‘ that severity: which is all at present from those who
 ‘ have wronged no man, but fear God, and have peace
 ‘ with him.’

‘ Newgate, Third
 ‘ Month, 1671.’

‘ Your true Friends, W. P. &c.’

His six months imprisonment in Newgate being expired, he was set at liberty, and shortly after went over into Holland and Germany: of his ministry and services at this time in those countries, some account is given by himself in the beginning of his subsequent travels into those parts, herein-after inserted.

In the beginning of the year 1672, and the 28th of his age, our author took to wife Gulielma Maria Springett, daughter of Sir William Springett, formerly of Darling in Suffex, who was killed in the time of the civil wars, at the siege of Bamber: his widow was afterward married to Isaac Pennington, of Peters-Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, in whose family her said daughter was brought up; a young woman whom a virtuous disposition, joined to a comely person, rendered well accomplished.

Soon after his marriage, pitching upon a convenient habitation at Rickmersworth in Hertfordshire, he resided there with his family, often visiting the meetings of friends, and returning home again.

In the seventh month this year, he took a journey to visit his friends in Kent, Suffex, and Surrey; of which his own memorandums furnish us with an observation of that singular industry which the free ministers of the gospel exercise in the discharge of their office; for in the space of twenty-one days, he, with his companion under the like concern, were present at,

and preached to as many assemblies of people at distant places, viz. Rochester, Canterbury, Dover, Deal, Folkstone, Ashford, and other places in Kent; at Lewes, Horsham, Stenning, &c. in Suffex; and at Charlewood and Rygate in Surrey. Great was their service in these counties: their testimonies, effectual to the strengthening of their friends, silencing of gainsayers, and to a general edification, were received by the people with joy and openness of heart; and themselves, in the performance of their duty, filled with spiritual consolation. Our author gives this account of their last meeting in that journey, being at Rygate: ‘The Lord sealed up our labours and travels, according to the desire of my soul and spirit, with his heavenly refreshments and sweet living power and word of life, unto the reaching of all, and consoling our own hearts abundantly.’ And concludes his narrative with these words: ‘And thus hath the Lord been with us in all our travels for his truth, and with his blessings of peace are we returned, which is a reward beyond all worldly treasure.’

In the ninth month this year, being at home again, he wrote the following letter to one Dr. Hasbert, a physician at Embden in Germany.

‘TO DR. HASBERT, Physician at the City of EMBDEN.’

‘DEAR FRIEND,

‘I Have very often remembered thee in the deep sense of that weighty love of God, which his heavenly truth raised in my heart to visit thee in; earnestly praying in spirit, that thou mightest receive a clear understanding of that blessed way of life and salvation, which he hath counted a remnant worthy both to know and to suffer for in this day: glory and everlasting honour to his most holy name! O my friend, it is my heart’s desire to the Lord, that he would preserve thee simple, upright, and constant in the obedience to that measure of the heavenly light

light, wherewith the God and father of light hath illuminated thee, and unto which thou art now turned; in which as thou abidest, with thy mind rightly exercised in the fear and dread of the Lord God; thou wilt be preserved out of the vain janglings of the angry, peevish, and perverse professor, and kept clean from the sins and pollutions that are in the profane world. O how many profess God and Christ, according to the historical knowledge of both, but never come to the mystical and experimental knowledge of them! No, it is utterly impossible, that any thing should bring to the internal knowledge and experience of the work and will of God, but the light and spirit only, by an inward revelation and operation: and such as entitle themselves to Christianity, whilst strangers to the terrors of the Lord for sin, and to a purgation from it, by the fiery trials of his inward judgments, as well as outward tribulations (who is as refiner's fire, and as everlasting burnings to all the workers of iniquity) they are of the synagogue of Satan, and subjects of the god of this world, whose throne is in the hearts of the children of disobedience unto the heavenly light within: and therefore in the name and authority of the Lord God of heaven and earth, I testify, that the way for every man and woman to come to God (whom darkness can have no access to, for to it is he inaccessible) is to bring his or her deeds to the light in him or herself, and see if they be wrought in God, or by him: if they be, the fire cannot consume the pure gold; if they be not, judgment with the light will pass, on God's behalf, upon the creature, from whence there is no appeal, without due repentance, and turning to the light, in it to walk in thought, word, and deed, in which the nations of them that be saved must walk and live for ever.

And because of the righteous judgment this heavenly light brings (for, for judgment is it come into the world) upon the professor, that is at ease in the outward courts of profession (that were given to the

‘ Gentiles to tread down, and which were left out in
 ‘ the measuring the evangelical temple of God) there-
 ‘ fore is he so nettled, vexed, and in enmity, saying,
 ‘ “ You deny the scriptures ; you renounce Christ ; you
 ‘ “ set up your own works, and your light is insuffi-
 ‘ “ cient,” with such-like. O but the wise man loves
 ‘ reproof, and the way thereof is life to his upright
 ‘ soul : but this thou must expect from the carnal,
 ‘ fleshly, and historical Christian of the outward courts
 ‘ and suburbs of religion, who is an enemy to the
 ‘ spiritual feed, that sees to the end of all meats,
 ‘ drinks, washings, figures, and bodily exercises : but
 ‘ as thy mind is kept stayed upon the light, thou wilt
 ‘ have a good understanding given to thee, and a
 ‘ right discerning, whereby to comprehend and con-
 ‘ found all that which may let or stop, whether it be
 ‘ within, or whether it be without : for this know,
 ‘ that the very same PRINCIPLE that gives LIGHT,
 ‘ administers strength, knowledge, life, raiment, and
 ‘ all that shall or can be needed in the spiritual jour-
 ‘ ney to the eternal rest : so, dear friend, unto that I
 ‘ recommend thee, beseeching thee to dwell in it, for
 ‘ by it are all things, that are either reproveable or
 ‘ justifiable, made manifest, and whatsoever can be
 ‘ known of God (whom to know effectual is life
 ‘ eternal) is manifested within. And, O the peace !
 ‘ O the joy ! O the heavenly refreshment that they
 ‘ witness, that know a passing, (not from one form
 ‘ to another) but from death and darkness, unto life
 ‘ and light, and are in the spiritual travel from Egypt’s
 ‘ land, through the state of condemnation for sin,
 ‘ (which is MOSES in spirit) unto justification, through
 ‘ life eternal, which is the gift of God by JESUS
 ‘ CHRIST. The Lord God eternal preserve thee, and
 ‘ keep thee stayed in thy mind, out of all wanderings,
 ‘ doubtings, or murmurings, in holy faith, resigna-
 ‘ tion and patience, till thou witnessest his king-
 ‘ dom to be come, and his will to be done on earth
 ‘ as it is in heaven ; that so thou mayest be a spiri-
 ‘ tual candle in thy place, giving light in the life of
 ‘ righteousness,

righteousness, to the eclipsing of all the dim ap-
 pearances of the former righteousness, that is among
 the carnal and historical Christians there-away (who
 talk of Christ in swelling words of vanity, but leave
 the cross behind) which they are to be convinced of,
 and condemned for, by the holy paraclete, as well as
 for the grossest of their iniquity, both being an abo-
 mination to the Lord. And if thou dost freely give
 up, counting nothing dear, to answer the Lord's
 heavenly visitation of love and light unto thee, by
 living in the cross to the sin, righteousness and judg-
 ment that are of this world, and testifying to the
 spiritual invisible way of salvation, as in the light
 thou hast received, and yet mayest receive, experi-
 mental knowledge, glory, immortality, and eternal
 life will be thy inheritance, when time shall be no
 more: only this I would leave in caution with thee,
 think not that thou hast attained all that in the holy
 vision of light may be presented to thee, but rather
 in the light wait to feel the heavenly power to arise,
 that is able to bring into the actual enjoyment of
 those states; and when thou comest thus experimen-
 tally to know the work of God wrought in thyself,
 thou canst with boldness speak, as one knowing
 whereof thou affirmest, having tasted and handled
 of the word of life, whether as an hammer, fire,
 sword, a washer and reconciler.

So the Lord God of his remnant and children of
 light, yet more and more enlighten, confirm and
 preserve thee, in and by his eternal power, to the
 end; for they, and they only, come to be saved. I
 am, in the fellowship of the light, and way of the
 cross of Christ,

My love is to thy wife, and salute me
 kindly to those that were at meeting
 when I was at Embden.

Thy endeared friend,

W. P.

POSTSCRIPT.

‘ Such as can be baptized with that baptism, and drink
 ‘ of that cup which Jesus was baptized with, and
 ‘ drank deeply of, such, and such alone, shall sit at
 ‘ his right-hand in the high and heavenly place :
 ‘ which is a hard saying to all the national and car-
 ‘ nal professors, but the children of light receive it
 ‘ with thankfulness, and sanctify God in their
 ‘ hearts.’

At this time sundry opposers, some of whom being dissenters themselves, had enough to do in time of persecution, by a cautious privacy, which they called ‘ Christian Prudence,’ to secure their own heads from the storm the Quakers weathered, began, under the sunshine of the king’s indulgence, to peep out, and, by gainsaying the truth, to make its defence necessary : so that our author, who never turned his back in the day of battle, had plenty of controversial exercise for his pen, the remainder of this year, and the two next ensuing ; about which time likewise he wrote several remarkable letters, some of which are here inserted ; viz.

‘ To Justice FLEMING, a Justice of Quorum, and
 ‘ Deputy Lieutenant in Westmorland.’

‘ **T**HE obligation thy civility laid upon the per-
 ‘ son that is now my wife, when in the north,
 ‘ anno 1664, is, with her being so, become mine.
 ‘ Not to acknowledge, though I could never retaliate
 ‘ it, were a rudeness I have not usually been guilty
 ‘ of ; for however differing I am from other men *Circa*
 ‘ *Sacra*, and that world, which, respecting men, may
 ‘ be said to *begin* when this *ends*, I know no religion
 ‘ that destroys courtesy, civility, and kindness ; which,
 ‘ rightly understood, are great indications of true men,
 ‘ if not of good Christians. Certainly there is such a
 ‘ thing as civil uniformity, where a religious one may
 ‘ be

' be unobtainable ; and methinks there can be noth-
 ' ing more irrational, than to sacrifice the serenity of
 ' the one, to an adventurous (if not impossible) pro-
 ' curement of the other. Let men be MEN before
 ' CHRISTIANS, and not repute that the best way of
 ' making them the last, which inevitably destroys the
 ' very constitution of the first. Natural affection, quiet
 ' living, honest commerce, and an exemplary life, so
 ' strongly plead for toleration of opinion, that where
 ' opinion aims not at the destruction of government,
 ' it is high pity, and not a little injustice, to molest
 ' those that are so qualified. It is not my purpose to
 ' dispute for liberty of conscience, but recommend it.
 ' Several discourses are extant, which, with me, seem
 ' irrefutable. I hope the unsuccessfulness of such se-
 ' verity as hath been acted, will be an unanswerable
 ' argument with them to leave it, with whom other
 ' reasons would not prevail ; though I cannot think,
 ' but a person of those parts several have represented
 ' thee to have, would have been satisfied with less cost
 ' of controversy : for, indeed, there can be nothing
 ' more irrational, than to fancy that external penalties
 ' should work right conviction, or information upon
 ' the conscience in the understanding of any. Sure
 ' I am, it is beneath the true religion to do so, as well
 ' as unbecoming one that has been observed to use
 ' that ill argument against others.

' But the scene is changed, and from the severity
 ' of magistrates, we are fallen under the implacable
 ' hate and persecution of some Co-Dissenters. It is
 ' for our credit they quarrel with us, especially that
 ' they begin : truth then best advocates her innocence
 ' unto mens consciences, when it is most questioned :
 ' she loses nothing by being tried, but the wolf's-skin,
 ' which the wolf in sheep's cloathing is wont to cast
 ' upon her ; and I no-ways doubt of that success in
 ' our undertaking for her defence. An Independent
 ' and an Anabaptist, both preachers, have lately be-
 ' dirted us in three discourses they have published
 ' against us, it is said, with no small applause ; but

‘ then it is to be understood, with our enemies, or
 ‘ such as know us not: for them we have charity;
 ‘ therefore have we writ; for truly neither is the truth
 ‘ hurt in herself nor are we brought into the least
 ‘ doubt of our holy faith by them. Our unhappiness
 ‘ is, we are not *understood*, and envy takes great care
 ‘ we should not: I have sent with this our answers:
 ‘ be pleased to accept and peruse them; I hope I need
 ‘ not say, impartially, to a man of so much wisdom
 ‘ and prudence. I leave the consequence with Al-
 ‘ mighty God, to whom we must all render our ac-
 ‘ count for the deeds done in this mortal body, whe-
 ‘ ther they be good or evil. Excuse my freedom, and
 ‘ accept my acknowledgment of former favour, and
 ‘ be assured it shall ever meet with a grateful return
 ‘ from

Thy sincere friend, however unknown,

‘ Rickmersworth,
 ‘ 1673.’

‘ W. P.’

‘ To all Suffering FRIENDS in Holland, or Germany,
 ‘ particularly in Frederickstadt, and in or near
 ‘ Dantzick.’

‘ Rickmersworth, 1st of the 7th Month, 1673.

‘ My dear FRIENDS,

‘ **I**N God’s everlasting truth, and that heavenly
 ‘ power, strength and dominion that stands there-
 ‘ in, doth my soul very dearly salute you all, who have
 ‘ tasted of the invisible and heavenly life, that is made
 ‘ known unto that residue of the woman’s seed, who
 ‘ have been begotten into the living way of light and
 ‘ righteousness: oh! pleasant are the outgoings of the
 ‘ Lord to and in his children, whose minds are truly
 ‘ staid upon him, and are freely resigned up into his
 ‘ all-wise disposal; such shall abound in the joy of
 ‘ God’s

God's salvation, even in sufferings, persecutions,
 tribulations, yea, deaths, and every peril that may
 attend your most holy faith. Therefore, hold up
 your heads, and be ye comforted, O little flock,
 your Shepherd will not fly, though the wolf come :
 know your shepherd, and dwell with him ; and he
 will bring you into sweet and green pastures, in the
 midst of your enemies. Consult not with flesh and
 blood, to know what may be the cause of your tri-
 als, how you may shun them, or which way you may
 keep mammon and a good conscience too ; but eye
 the Lord, without whose providence a sparrow falls
 not to the ground. No new or strange thing can
 happen unto you : dwell in the faith that works by
 love, and that will cast out all fear, that begets any
 staggering from your holy testimony : remember that
 many eyes are upon you, and as you acquit your-
 selves in this exercise that may quickly be suffered
 to come upon you, so will God's truth be well or
 ill spoken of ; for people will measure your most
 holy way by you. The way they see not, you they
 will behold : what know ye, but the Lord is now
 preparing and brightening of you for farther service,
 both where you live, and in other places ? Oh ! in
 the light of Jesus, " the just man's path," live and
 walk, that to the end you may endure ; so shall you
 glorify God, answer their labours who have travailed
 among you, and obtain unto yourselves eternal sal-
 vation. So, dear hearts, be still, quiet, and given
 up in life and death, God's great work is going on :
 he always comes upon the WORLD in a STORM, and
 sometimes to his CHILDREN, that they may be the
 more weaned from the world ; that people may be
 the more stirred up to mind them, and that truth
 may be more effectually manifested through their
 self-denial, patience, and resolution. Stand then,
 be valiant, and keep your minds to the invisible life,
 that in the light is felt ; and then, I am persuaded,
 " neither principalities, nor powers, nor life, nor death,
 " nor any other thing, shall ever be able to separate
 " you

“ you from the love of God,” that hath been, and
 ‘ daily is, revealed to you in Christ Jesus, the Lamb
 ‘ of God, and Light of the world.

‘ The God of all peace keep your minds and spirits
 ‘ in perfect peace, amidst the greatest troubles and dis-
 ‘ quiets from without, that you may finish your testi-
 ‘ monies, with us, to his eternal praise that hath cal-
 ‘ led us, who is over every name worthy, even God
 ‘ blessed for ever. Amen, Amen.

‘ Your fellow-feeling brother in the unchangeable
 ‘ truth,

‘ W. P.’

POSTSCRIPT.

‘ Truth greatly prevails in these islands, and grows
 ‘ daily famous over the heads of its peevish oppo-
 ‘ sers: and my friends, that have heard lately of
 ‘ you, travail and sympathize with you: you are
 ‘ not alone, and he that is in you is greater than he
 ‘ that is in the world. Farewell.’

‘ To the LITTLE FLOCK and FAMILY of GOD, the
 ‘ People whom he hath called and gathered to the
 ‘ Knowledge and Belief of his Everlasting Way to
 ‘ Life and Salvation (of God beloved, but of
 ‘ MEN traduced, and spoken evil of); as also such
 ‘ as have of late any desires begotten in them after
 ‘ his eternal Truth, now residing in the UNITED
 ‘ PROVINCES;

‘ Right Understanding, Sound Faith, and Perfect
 ‘ Obedience, with all Spiritual Blessings, be-
 ‘ increased amongst you, according to your se-
 ‘ veral Necessities!

‘ DEAR and Well-beloved FRIENDS,

‘ **M**Y true and tender love in God, our life, who
 ‘ by the power that raised our Lord Jesus
 ‘ Christ from the dead, hath quickened us unto an
 ‘ hope

' hope of eternal felicity, when days, and years, and
 ' times shall be no more, do I at this time salute you,
 ' and the rest of Friends in all those parts, unto whom
 ' is the issuing forth of the light and love of God in
 ' an abundant manner, that you may all receive plen-
 ' tiful redemption, and be refreshed in him, who is an
 ' everlasting fountain, that can never be exhausted;
 ' and for the thirsty it is set open, that they who want
 ' inward consolation and satisfaction for their immortal
 ' souls, might be abundantly replenished with the liv-
 ' ing crystal streams thereof: blessed are they of the
 ' Father of all blessings and mercies, that have their
 ' eye turned unto him, that watch and wait upon him,
 ' who dare not to offend or grieve his good Spirit,
 ' that stands ready not only to convince the world of
 ' sin, and turn many into the way of life; but seal all
 ' the faithful unto the inheritance of eternal life: that
 ' as you once bore the earthly image, and were the
 ' beast's seal in your foreheads, so now you may daily
 ' witness the renewing of the heavenly image upon
 ' you, by the power of the Lord, inwardly felt, and a
 ' wearing of the Lamb's seal in your foreheads, by the
 ' Spirit of our God.

' Oh! be not scattered from this blessed hope, nor
 ' let the bawlings of some thick, carnal, head-wise
 ' opposers, who are more in word than in deed, and
 ' only skilled in science falsely so called (for it is filled
 ' with endless jangles and debates) any whit move you,
 ' my dear friends, from your holy standing; neither
 ' the reproaches of the profane, nor cruel sufferings
 ' of some persecuting Pharisees, nor, finally, the fal-
 ' ling-away, and treacherous apostasy, of any Judas,
 ' Demas, or Alexander the coppersmith; but as pil-
 ' grims, estranged from the life and spirit of this
 ' world, who are embarked for a more durable country
 ' and building that is eternal in the heavens, pass away
 ' your sojourning here below in fear and trembling,
 ' in diligence and godly conversation; that so the gos-
 ' pel may be adorned, the life and power of godliness
 ' shine brightly forth through those black clouds, with
 ' which

' which envious men seek to obscure and eclipse the
 ' beauty of your principles and practice, and God shall
 ' have the glory, and you shall be preserved to his
 ' eternal kingdom: and therefore, my dear friends,
 ' have a care of the snares the evil-one lays in the spi-
 ' rit of this world, whereby to draw out your minds
 ' from the heavenly watch, against that which makes
 ' not for God's honour and your own true peace: that
 ' no sluggish, negligent, or earthly spirit overtake you,
 ' since the fatherly visitation has reached unto you.
 ' Neither let vain thoughts or unnecessary disputations
 ' be cherished, for none of those things make for true
 ' comfort in the day of God. O that the cross of
 ' Christ may evermore be precious among you! And
 ' you whom the Lord of late hath more particularly
 ' extended his loving kindness unto, leave the dead to
 ' bury the dead; part with all, that you may have
 ' eternal life: make no bargains of ease for your flesh
 ' and blood, which must never enter into the kingdom
 ' of God, and whose consultings, if you yield to them,
 ' will run you into eternal perdition.

" Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the
 " kingdom of God;" ' and a man is then so, when he
 ' hath parted with all for Christ's name sake. I mean
 ' not a comfortable livelihood, as popish friars do,
 ' that they may live on the hard labours of other men;
 ' that is, at best, but the outside of the platter; but
 ' those fashions, customs, pleasures, honours, lusts,
 ' &c. that are from below, and formed and brought
 ' forth by the spirit of this world, unto which the free-
 ' born children of God, by the eternal Spirit, have
 ' been made strangers, not touching therewith. O let
 ' not the foolishness of the cross be over-reasoned, ca-
 ' villed, and disputed; a willing offering, resigned
 ' spirit, and contented bearer of the reproach of men
 ' for conscience-sake, such God loves, and hath in
 ' great regard: he is a sufficient recompence, and every
 ' light affliction he repays with a far more exceeding
 ' weight of glory, even that pure spiritual glory, that
 ' was with the Father ere this world began,

‘ O prize

‘ O prize your precious and high calling, and di-
 ‘ ligently seek to make your calling and election sure,
 ‘ by working out your so great salvation by the power
 ‘ and spirit of Jesus our Lord: and as many as are
 ‘ led by it, are children and heirs, yea, co-heirs, of
 ‘ that life and kingdom with him, which abideth for
 ‘ evermore. So the God and Father of our Lord Je-
 ‘ sus Christ, by his holy arm and power, compass you
 ‘ about, and have your souls and bodies in his keep-
 ‘ ing, that in his fear and love you may live towards
 ‘ him and one another the remainder of your days: so
 ‘ shall honour ascend to him, and his peace like a
 ‘ river flow amongst you to your unutterable rejoic-
 ‘ ing, world without end.

‘ I am

‘ Your sensible, tender, and sincere friend and
 ‘ brother in the everlasting truth, to serve you
 ‘ to the utmost of my ability therein,

‘ From my house at Rickmersworth, in the
 ‘ nation of England, the 4th of the
 ‘ 10th month S. V. 1673.

‘ W. P.’

‘ TO FRIENDS IN MARYLAND.

‘ DEAR FRIENDS,

‘ **T**HOUGH unknown to you in body, yet well
 ‘ known in spirit, by that eternal living union
 ‘ and fellowship that the light of the Lord Jesus
 ‘ Christ hath brought us into, which comprehends the
 ‘ world, the life, wisdom, and works of it, and re-
 ‘ proves them all as degenerated from the life of God,
 ‘ and the commonwealth of his blessed spiritual Israel:
 ‘ and blessed will you be for ever, as you keep there-
 ‘ in; for a growing-up into immortality, and the life,
 ‘ peace, and joy that are eternal, you will witness
 ‘ more and more, which is the heavenly durable trea-
 ‘ sure in the earthen vessel. In the living sense of his
 ‘ precious truth, and glorious day of light, life, and
 ‘ love, that has dawned, and is breaking up clearer and
 ‘ clearer

clearer upon us, my soul salutes you, the honest and faithful-hearted friends of Maryland plantation, wishing you the increases of God day by day, to the building you more and more up into the image that is glorious, being the express representation of Him that hath called you to the hope that gives comfort in the day of the Lord: Oh, my dear friends, up and work for the Lord God, for the despised light and truth of Jesus, in your day; and let not us be less vigilant, in the tender, diligent, fervent spirit for God, than the world is for their mammon, that so we may appear men for God, not for ourselves, minding the things of Christ, and not our own, Phil. ii. 21. So shall God's truth spread to the utmost parts of the earth, and the heathen shall become the inheritance of that true light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world.

Dear friends, it fell to my lot to manage your concerns with the attorney-general of the colony, and the lord Baltimore, about oaths: I obtained to George Fox's paper the answer endorsed on the back-side: now my advice to you is to represent to them,

First, That oaths have risen from corruptions; that falseness, distrust, and jealousies brought them into the world, as say Polybius, Grotius, Bishop Gawden, and others; and God having redeemed you to truth-speaking, the cause is taken away, viz. falsehood; therefore the effect, by way of remedy, to wit, oaths, should cease.

Secondly, Christ expressly forbids swearing; inasmuch as he doth not only prohibit VAIN swearing, which was already forbidden under the law, but that swearing which the law ALLOWED.

Thirdly, That it is not only OUR sense: Polycarpus, Ponticus, Blandina, Basilides, Primitive Martyrs were of this mind; and Justin Martyr, Cyprian, Origen, Lactantius, Clemens Alexandrinus, Basilus Magnus, Chrysostom, Theophylact, Oecumenius, Chromatius, Euthymius, (Fathers) so read the text,
not

‘ not to mention any of the Protestant Martyrs.
 ‘ Therefore should they be tender.

‘ Fourthly, There is no injury done to the planta-
 ‘ tion to take your words; if any, to you that suffer
 ‘ the same penalty for a LYE, which is only due to
 ‘ PERJURY, and which the law, without your consent,
 ‘ does not inflict; your caution and pledge for HO-
 ‘ NESTY is as large as he that *swears*; for, as truth-
 ‘ speaking fulfils the law, so equal punishment with
 ‘ perjured persons, satisfies it.

‘ Lastly, That your coming thither as to a sanctuary,
 ‘ makes it reasonable that they should not drive you
 ‘ thence for mere conscience, so well grounded and
 ‘ confirmed by scripture, reason, and authorities. Let
 ‘ your yea and nay be all.

‘ The lord Baltimore mentioned something about
 ‘ your allowing some small matter for not performing
 ‘ martial matters: in that be wise, deliberate and pas-
 ‘ sive; only if they press too hard, interpose. I sup-
 ‘ pose they will be moderate in that, and all other
 ‘ cases relating to you, at least I was told and assured
 ‘ so.

‘ I have no more, but that truth prospers, in meet-
 ‘ ings and out of them: our adversaries fall before
 ‘ us: and the sober people of these three nations are
 ‘ open to hear, and ready both to think and speak
 ‘ well of, the way of the Lord. I sent you one of
 ‘ Edward Burrough’s books, and two small ones of
 ‘ my own, as a token of my love, which accept. So
 ‘ the Lord God of eternal strength preserve us all, liv-
 ‘ ing, fresh, zealous, and wise, in that which is pure
 ‘ of Himself, which he hath shed abroad in our hearts,
 ‘ to his eternal praise, and our everlasting comfort.
 ‘ Amen, amen, faith my soul.

‘ Your friend and brother, in the truth and cause
 ‘ of Christ Jesus, the light of the world.

‘ Anno 1673.’

‘ W. PENN.’

‘ To

‘ To J. H. and his Companions, JUSTICES in Mid-
‘ dlesex.

‘ Rickmerfworth, the 31st of the 1st month,
‘ called March, 1674.

‘ **B**ECAUSE you are justices as well as neigh-
‘ bours, and reputed gentlemen, not only ci-
‘ vility, but duty, engages me to govern myself with
‘ all due respect in this epistle: which, as it proceeds
‘ out of love to your persons, and that hearty desire I
‘ have your actions may not fall short of that courtesy,
‘ neighbourhood, conscience, and fundamental law
‘ that becomes every man, much more a gentleman,
‘ and he an Englishman and a justice too, but most
‘ of all a true Christian, to square himself by, rather
‘ than any sinister end; so, I beseech you, give it your
‘ perusal and serious consideration; and then, if you
‘ please, afford me your answer.

‘ I offered, as you may remember, several things, to
‘ abate your proceedings with us at Ruslipe, which
‘ then it did not please you to hear enough to em-
‘ brace. Perhaps a reiteration may conduce more to
‘ your satisfaction; at least, it will acquit my consci-
‘ ence; which, whatever you said, or think, is of
‘ great value with me. And those that have known
‘ me better than you do, are not ignorant how much
‘ I have been thought to stand in my own light, merely
‘ to preserve that unblemished.

‘ I told you then, that since you affirmed the report
‘ of this meeting to have reached you a month since
‘ (which, I think, was at least a week before any such
‘ thing was intended) it had been handsome and
‘ neighbourly, indeed but natural and just, to give
‘ us notice of your intentions: for in a country so
‘ quiet as this (as where is there now any disquiet?)
‘ who could have expected such a sand or rock to strike
‘ upon? Men use to provide land-marks and such
‘ like tokens for caution, where danger is, to prevent
‘ it.

it. We never heard you to be severe; on the contrary moderate; men of more candor than to express severity, or extend the letter of the law upon your neighbours.

For what else, I beseech you, can I call your sending for all that should meet there to appear before you, without any the least preceding information of your displeasure? Again, the constable could give no evidence of a meeting, who left the people, some in the house, some in the yard, some in the orchard, and several walking in the highway: no more preaching or praying, then, where no people were. When you came, those that the constable saw, were dispersed, and had been near an hour: which we thought the thing you only aimed at: finding some five that remained, either at some repast, or discourse, very remote from a CONVENTICLE, in your own sense of the word, how fair an opportunity had you to clear your hands, as justices and friends, nothing offensive to the law in your hands being present to you. Perhaps we expected to hear that you were glad to find the people gone; and that the occasion of any rigour, to you unpleasant, was removed; with, it may be, some gentle caution for the future, that you might quit yourselves as well like men in power, as kind neighbours. But truly none of us, I dare say, so much as conceived one thought like your actions. Not that I think them the harshest that were ever shown; by no means; but exceeding our expectations, the circumstances considered, and the door that was thereby opened for you to get out at: especially when you would not take our words to be gone, but, after an untoward manner, compelled us out. I farther urged the general quiet of the season, the unpleasantness of these things to the king, his absolute renunciation of all such proceedings; that his DECLARATION was a great instance; that though it be cancelled, yet not the LIBERTY; for the quarrel lay not against the *indulgence*, but the GRANT of it for-

I THE AUTHOR'S LIFE.

maliter. It was not by an ACT of PARLIAMENT; and an ill precedent, said the parliament. I further added, that the parliament had *voted* indulgence to the king's dissenting protestant subjects, and intended to ratify the former more *firmly*, at least to all protestant dissenters; and that such we are.

I entreat you to peruse this short discourse against the papists, to say nothing of the vast disparity and antipathy of our principles and worship. To these latter allegations, you singly and jointly answered, that the ACT was in force, by the repealing or cancelling of the *declaration*. True, strictly taken: but do not you know, that there be many acts never formally repealed, that obtain no force among us; but are as much neglected as if they were abrogated by new laws? I much question if that very law, by which the protestants were burnt for their noble testimonies against Rome, were ever revoked. This might be sufficient to you, that the KING dislikes it; that the parliament declared their readiness to repeal the law that countenanceth it; that all are quiet; that the reason of the law ceasing, the law, as to its execution, should cease also; that the king and council, in the preamble to the declaration, have disclaimed all pretence to better settlements, by severity upon dissenters; that you have work enough to employ yourselves about, in first living, and then executing all laws, that recover and preserve morality, mercy, justice, sobriety, and godly living: and lastly, that you had nothing offensive to the law before your eyes, when you came among us.

I farther urged, *argumentum ad hominem*, the king's power in ecclesiastical matters: that if you acknowledged him head of the church, it seemed somewhat unnatural, that any members straggle from the judgment and direction of the head. It was answered by one of you, and the best thing said, "that the king was head in civils too, yet he would not forbear recovering a debt by law, though the king should interpose his civil headship to prevent receiving it,"

or

or words to that purpose. I said then, and now more
 fully reply; the case is vastly differing, upon your
 own principles. The civil government of England
 depends upon law grounded upon sincerity, the eter-
 nal law; and it is not, by the ancient and fundamen-
 tal constitution, allowable, that *meum* and *tuum*
 should be over-ruled by any prince whatever. It is
 the glory of the king of England's government, that
 he is a prince by right, not might; by law, not
 power. He has power, but from and according to
 law; not that he makes his will and power law.
 This right is agreeable to human nature, so called,
 and the oeconomy which God hath imprinted upon
 it: but in matters ecclesiastical, you say (if old pro-
 testants) that it is inherent to, and inseparable from,
 the civil magistrate, so soon as he professeth Christ,
 to be the head of the church in his dominions (upon
 the strain of the Jewish story, how reasonable soever
 it be): and upon this very foot, was, and is, the
 English reformation set; where all original compact,
 all coronation oaths, all fundamental law, and legi-
 slators too, are set aside; for the king is not consti-
 tuted head of the church by common consent of
 lords and commons, though thereby *declared* so; but
 by being a CHRISTIAN King.

Again, I distinguish between laws: some are fun-
 damental, and those are durable, and indissoluble;
 some are circumstantial and superficial, and those be
 alterable. By the first, I mean all those laws, that
 constitute the ancient civil government of England,
 and which make up these two words ENGLISH MEN.
 By the latter, I understand all laws suited to state, or
 national emergencies, which are *pro tempore* and
 away. They live, as long as the reason of them lives,
 and then die, oftentimes of themselves. These may
 be both civil and ecclesiastical: civil, as the act
 against transporting Irish cattle: a FAMINE repeals
 that, by the ancient law maxim; *cessante ratione legis,*
cessat lex. Ecclesiastical; as this in question: they
 that made it, had UNITY, PEACE, and PLENTY, in
 D 2 their

‘ their eyes: it is found, upon trial, to increase animosities, disturb the peace, and lay waste honest and industrious families. Thus much the king, whom you confess to be the head of the church, by the advice of his privy council, men, doubtless, wiser than any of us, has almost in so many words declared.

‘ Farther, let it be weighed, that we came not to our liberties and properties by the protestant religion; their date rises higher. Why, then, should a *non-conformity* to it, purely conscientious, deprive us of them? This, or that, sort of religion, was not specified in the ancient civil government; though the clergy twisted into the great charter: yet let it be considered, that it was not intended to deny others liberty of conscience; but to secure their church, properties, and revenues, from the king’s seizure. The nature of body and soul, earth and heaven, this world and that to come, differs: there can be no reason to persecute any man in THIS world, about any thing that belongs to the NEXT. “Who art thou (saith the holy scripture, in this case,) that judgeth another man’s servant?” ‘ he must stand or fall to his Master, the Great God. Let tares and wheat grow together, till the great harvest: to call for fire from heaven, was no part of Christ’s religion, though the reprovèd zeal of some of his disciples. His sword is spiritual, like his kingdom. Be pleased to remember, that faith is the gift of God, and what is not of faith, is sin. We must either be hypocrites, in doing what we believe in our consciences we ought not to do; or forbearing what we are fully persuaded we ought to do. Either give us better faith, or leave us with such as we have; for it seems unreasonable in you, to disturb us for this that we have, and yet be unable to give us any other. Oh! ye do not do to us as you would be done by: can it become protestants to use that severity to others, they once condemned in others? there can be no
‘ pre-

‘ pretence of conscience, for limiting other men’s,
 ‘ that are virtuous, and who wish you heartily well.
 ‘ Were we immoral, or did our religion and worship
 ‘ border upon an impiety, we should blush to apo-
 ‘ logize as we do. But being no ways conscious of
 ‘ any affinity with immoral principles or practices; on
 ‘ the contrary, knowing ourselves to be better taught,
 ‘ by God’s grace, that leads to all moral and holy liv-
 ‘ ing, however different we may be in some particular
 ‘ persuasions; we do take confidence to remonstrate
 ‘ our case, and to intreat your serious consideration of
 ‘ it, that we, your countrymen and neighbours, may
 ‘ enjoy ourselves, in the worship of Almighty God,
 ‘ with quietness and security. And I am well assured
 ‘ it shall less repent you, upon your dying bed, to
 ‘ have acted moderately, than severely. You cannot
 ‘ but know how fallible protestants acknowledge them-
 ‘ selves to be in matters of religion, and consequent-
 ‘ ly, with what caution they should proceed against
 ‘ any about religion. You also see how much more
 ‘ destructive vice and intemperance are to body and
 ‘ soul, than mere opinion, and consequently, how
 ‘ much more reasonable it is to punish the one than
 ‘ prosecute the other. Think not that mere persua-
 ‘ sion damns us; it is sin, whose wages is death. I
 ‘ love and honour *all* virtuous persons, that *differ* from
 ‘ me, and hope God will have regard to every such
 ‘ one, according to sincerity. And however it shall
 ‘ please you to deal with us, at this or any other time,
 ‘ I pray God forgive you, open your eyes, tender your
 ‘ hearts, and make you sensible, how much more mo-
 ‘ deration and virtue are worth your study and pur-
 ‘ suit, than the disturbance of religious dissenting as-
 ‘ semblies, that, so far as I know of them, desire to
 ‘ honour the king, love their neighbours as them-
 ‘ selves, and to do unto all men as they would have
 ‘ all men do unto them.

‘ Be pleased to accept this in good part, and with
 ‘ the most favourable construction; which becomes

‘ your quality, and is but to do right to his intentions,
 ‘ who, with good wishes for you, subscribes himself,

‘ Your very true Friend,

‘ WILLIAM PENN.’

P O S T S C R I P T.

‘ I have sent you a “ Discourse against the Papists,”
 ‘ and another of “ Liberty of Conscience;” several
 ‘ hundreds of which were presented to the House that
 ‘ year it was printed.

‘ I could produce a dozen precedents to confirm
 ‘ this: and truly it looks hard upon your own princi-
 ‘ ples, that you should give your servants liberty to
 ‘ use their discretion in errands, or constables in the
 ‘ execution of their trusts, provided they answer the
 ‘ main end, which is, *voluntas magistri, salusque regis*
 ‘ *& populi*, nay, that you can use sometimes a prero-
 ‘ gative yourselves, *& relaxare legem*, remembering,
 ‘ doubtless, that *summum jus* is *summa injuria*, as the
 ‘ old king said; and yet that you should not allow the
 ‘ king a power to suspend the execution of but a tem-
 ‘ porary law, when the execution of it is impractica-
 ‘ ble, without destroying those very ends for which it
 ‘ was first made. I beseech you call to mind the
 ‘ ancient veneration of protestants to princes preroga-
 ‘ tive in ecclesiastics, and their principles about it, in
 ‘ the reigns of H. 8. E. 6. Q. E. K. Ja. and particu-
 ‘ larly K. C. the first.’

The same zeal and affection which made him a con-
 stant advocate for his friends at home, led him also
 to solicit on their behalf with foreign powers and
 states, under whose government they suffered perse-
 cution; for there was a decree made this year at
 Dantzick for banishing the Quakers; and a law of
 the like nature at Embden, where that people had
 also undergone other grievous sufferings: whereupon
 he wrote to the senate of Embden an epistle in Latin,
 which

which hath since been translated into English, and is in this collection.

The persecution at home now becoming hot again, and many Quakers being imprisoned for refusing the oath of allegiance, our author publishes their reasons against "swearing at all," and confirms the same by numerous authorities, in a book entitled "A Treatise of Oaths."

This year also he published a choice piece, entitled, "England's present Interest discovered;" wherein, to allay the heats of contending parties, he shews the consistency of a general liberty of conscience with the peace of the kingdom; discovering at once the generous charity of a real Christian, and the noble spirit of a true patriot.

In the eighth month this year, being at London, he wrote the following remarkable letter to a Roman Catholic.

‘ MY FRIEND,

‘ CHRIST JESUS did redeem a people with his
 ‘ most precious blood; and the ancient church
 ‘ of Rome, among other churches, was one: but as
 ‘ the sea loses and gets, and as prosperity changes its
 ‘ station, so the CHASTITY of the church of Rome is
 ‘ lost; she having taken in principles and discipline that
 ‘ are not of Christ, neither can be found in holy scrip-
 ‘ ture.

‘ If thou wast to die, wouldst thou not leave a PLAIN
 ‘ will to thy children? So have Christ and his apostles
 ‘ in the scripture. Read, and thou mayest behold the
 ‘ simplicity, purity, meekness, patience, and self-de-
 ‘ nial, of those Christians and churches. They are
 ‘ Christ's, that take up his cross to the glory and spi-
 ‘ rit of this world, which the church of Rome lives in.
 ‘ Behold the pride, luxury, cruelty, that hath for ages
 ‘ been in that church, even the heads and chieftains
 ‘ thereof! It is a mistake to think THAT Christ's
 ‘ church that has lost its heavenly qualifications, be-

' cause it once was. What is become of Antioch,
 ' Jerusalem, &c. both churches of Christ; and before
 ' ROME? Nor is it number; (the Devil has that) nor
 ' antiquity; (for he has that) but CHRIST-LIKENESS
 ' and conformity to Jesus; who hath divorced those
 ' that have adulterated: and though he had left but
 ' two or three (though there were thousands) yet he
 ' would be in the midst of them: and they have been
 ' in the wilderness, people crying in sackcloth. The
 ' generality declined from CHRIST'S SPIRIT, and it was
 ' lost, and the teachings of it: and then came up
 ' FORM without POWER, and a wrathful spirit to pro-
 ' pagate it; and this made up the great whore, that
 ' looked like the Lamb's bride, Christ's church, but
 ' was not, which God will judge. Remember, that
 ' God was not without a church, though the natural
 ' church and priesthood of the Jews apostatized: so in
 ' the case of the church of Rome.

' Now is the Lord raising up his old power, and
 ' giving his Spirit, and moving upon the waters (the
 ' people) that out of that state all may come, and
 ' know God in spirit, and Christ his Son, whom he
 ' has sent into people's hearts, a True LIGHT. And,
 ' my friend, build not upon fancies, nor the traditions
 ' of men, but CHRIST, the sure foundation, as he
 ' appears to thee in thy conscience; that thou mayest
 ' feel his power to redeem thee up to himself, out of
 ' the earthly sensual spirit, to know thy right eye
 ' plucked out, the true mortification; and this brings
 ' thee to the church of the FIRST-BORN, that is more
 ' divine and noble than an outward glittering church;
 ' that is inwardly polluted: for know, as thou sowest,
 ' thou reapest, in the great day of account. So to
 ' God's Spirit, in thy own conscience, do I recom-
 ' mend thee, that leads out of all evil, and quickens
 ' thee to God, as thou obeyest it, and makes thee a
 ' child of God, and an heir of glory. I am, in much
 ' haste, and as much love,

' London, 9th October,
 ' 1675.'

' Thy true friend,
 ' W. PENN.'

In

In the 12th month of this year, one Matthew Hide, a person that had been very troublesome in the Quakers meetings, by opposing their ministers in their publick testimony and prayers, was taken sick; and on his death-bed, being under great remorse of conscience for what he had done, he could not be easy till he had sent for some of that people, and particularly George Whitehead, to whom he expressed great sorrow for the abuses done them, declaring them to be the children of God, and begging mercy of the Lord for his wilful opposition to known truth in gainfaying them; and died penitent. This gave occasion to our author to publish, as a warning to others, a narrative, entitled, "Saul smitten to the Ground."

In the year 1676, he became one of the proprietors of West Jersey in America, and was instrumental in the first colonizing of that province by the English: for King Charles II. having given the propriety of that country to the Duke of York, he granted the same to Sir George Berkley and the Lord Carteret, the former of whom sold his part to one Edward Billing, a Quaker; whose circumstances in the world afterward declining, he transferred his right to William Penn, Gawen Lawrey, and Nicholas Lucas, in trust for the payment of his debts: they accordingly allotted out and sold the lands; and many people from England transported themselves, and settling there, in a few years it became a flourishing plantation, and so continues. The chief town of it is Burlington, situate on the great river Delaware. But we return to religious matters.

About this time it pleased God to inspire the hearts of two protestant ladies of great quality in Germany, with a sense of the follies and vanities of the world, and to excite them to an earnest inquiry after the knowledge of Himself. The one was the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Frederick V. Prince Palatine of the Rhine and King of Bohemia, grand-daughter to King James I. and sister to Prince Rupert, and the late Princess Sophia, King George the First's mother: the

the other, Anna Maria de Hornes, Countess of Hornes, a familiar acquaintance of the said princess. The report of their religious inclination coming to our author's intelligence, who embraced every opportunity of watering the growing seeds of virtue, he sent them a letter of encouragement and consolation, exhorting those noble women to a constancy and perseverance in that holy way which the Lord had directed their feet into. The letter itself, though large, being worthy of the reader's perusal, he will find in this collection.

In the year 1677, he travelled into Holland and Germany; an account of which, written and published by himself, is likewise hereafter inserted.

Soon after his return from Holland, he wrote a letter in answer to one he had received from John Pennyman, a person who had once professed himself a Quaker, but was now become an opposer of them; part of which letter containing advice well adapted to the case of such a backslider, we here subjoin,

‘ TO JOHN PENNYMAN.’

‘ JOHN PENNYMAN,

‘ **I** Received a letter from thee since my arrival in
 ‘ this land.—Let me tell thee, in the spirit of
 ‘ truth and meekness, my soul has been frequently sad
 ‘ and heavy for thy sake, because of those degenerate
 ‘ and sour grapes which thou hast brought forth, the
 ‘ unnatural and unkindly fruits that of late years have
 ‘ proceeded from thee. Ah! Whence art thou fallen,
 ‘ and what art thou turned to? What is become of
 ‘ thy tenderness and thy zeal for the way of truth, as
 ‘ professed amongst us? Verily thou art increasing thy
 ‘ burthen, and strengthening the Lord's judgment
 ‘ against thee, and treasuring up wrath against the day
 ‘ of wrath.

‘ Hadst thou been told of the things thou hast done,
 ‘ ten years since, thou wouldst never have believed it;
 ‘ thou

‘ thou wouldst have cried out, “ God forbid ! far be
 ‘ it from me ! ” But one weakness brings on another,
 ‘ and one unfaithfulness increaseth another. O that
 ‘ thou wouldst be advised ! That thou wouldst see from
 ‘ whence thou art fallen, and repent, and turn to thy
 ‘ first love, and do thy first works ; for I have nothing
 ‘ but love and good-will in my heart, both to thee
 ‘ and thy wife ; and it is with the grief of a friend of
 ‘ God, and of you both, that I behold the evil and
 ‘ pernicious use that some envious, prejudiced, and
 ‘ unreasonable people make of you, and your carriage
 ‘ to us ; yet scorn and deride you in their hearts, after
 ‘ they have served their turns of you. O return, if
 ‘ yet mercy may be found with the Lord, and be not
 ‘ found fighting against him. O that my love could
 ‘ take hold of you, and that my life could raise any
 ‘ tenderneſs in you, that yet you might be gathered,
 ‘ and not utterly perish.

‘ This I tell you, in the name and fear of the Lord,
 ‘ the weighty power and life and glory of God is
 ‘ amongst us as a people : and though there may be
 ‘ some personal weakneſſes, or miscarriages, through
 ‘ the unfaithfulness of some particulars, that serve as
 ‘ food for prejudiced ſpirits to feed upon, and though
 ‘ some go out from us, and turn against us, ſpeaking
 ‘ lies in hypocriſy, that is, under the pretence of
 ‘ truth, which may cauſe ſome to ſtumble, and ſeveral
 ‘ to be aſtoniſhed, yet all this ſhall work together for
 ‘ good to them that fear the Lord. It ſhall tend to
 ‘ greater watchfulneſs, diligence, and faithfulneſs to
 ‘ the Lord ; and the juſt ſhall live more and more by
 ‘ faith, through which they ſhall overcome all their
 ‘ enemies, and ſtand in their lot at the end of all days,
 ‘ and live and reign with the Lord for ever. I ſhould
 ‘ willingly ſpend an hour with thee upon this ſubject,
 ‘ if I knew when and where without inconvenience to
 ‘ either of us. In the mean while I wiſh thee well,
 ‘ and for ever.

‘ London, 18th of the 9th
 ‘ Month, 1677.

Thy true friend,
 WILLIAM PENN.
 The

The people called Quakers being now harrassed with severe prosecutions in the Exchequer, on penalties of twenty pounds per month, or two thirds of their estates, by laws made against Papists, but unjustly turned upon them; William Penn, soliciting the parliament for redress of those grievances, presented the following petitions, viz.

‘ To the COMMONS of ENGLAND, assembled in Parliament.’

‘ The Request of the People called Quakers.’

‘ **B**ESIDES those many and great sufferings we have sustained by the execution of laws made against us, to the ruin of many industrious families, we have been many of us much damnified both in our estates and persons, sometimes even to death itself, by laws neither made against us, nor so much as designed against such a people as we are, and such principles as we hold.

‘ And understanding that you are pleased to insert and enact such a distinguishing clause in the bill against popery, as that they who will take the oath and subscribe a declaration therein expressed, shall not suffer by such laws; and because, for pure conscience, we cannot swear at all (in which we are not alone, for that many of the philosophers, Jews, and many of the best of Christians have had the same tenderness) we intreat you to take our particular case into your serious consideration, and give us some relief, otherwise we are like to come under penalties that belong not to us, because we cannot take this oath; though the ground of our refusal be not the matter to which the penalty is affixed, but the form of it; and that, which with due respect and integrity we offer, is, that our WORD may be taken instead of an OATH, and if we are found faulty, that we may undergo that penalty which shall be inflicted in the other case: that we and our families may not be exposed

‘ posed to the malice, self-ends, or revenge of any,
 ‘ which we shall certainly be, if you relieve us not;
 ‘ many of us having already suffered upon this single
 ‘ account: and it is not to be thought, by wise and
 ‘ charitable men, that we have any ill design in re-
 ‘ fusing to swear, since we always refused it in our
 ‘ own case, though to our great DETRIMENT.’

‘ The Request of some called Quakers, presented to
 ‘ the HOUSE OF LORDS, on the behalf of their suf-
 ‘ fering Friends.’

‘ **B**Ecause we are informed that this day you are
 ‘ pleased to consider of religion, particularly the
 ‘ Romish, we think it not improper to let you know,
 ‘ that there are many hundreds of us, that are severely
 ‘ prosecuted, not only upon those laws that look upon
 ‘ us as dissenters in general from the church of Eng-
 ‘ land, but by several statutes particularly designed
 ‘ against Popery, and persons professing the Romish
 ‘ religion; insomuch that our persecutors are proceed-
 ‘ ing to a seizure of two thirds of our estates, and
 ‘ give us that trouble, as well as subjecting us to the
 ‘ loss, which will not only render tenants unable to
 ‘ pay their rents, and others to live upon their own,
 ‘ but make both a charge to the country, who have
 ‘ hitherto by their callings and estates contributed to
 ‘ others.

‘ The injustice of such strained executions, and cruel
 ‘ misapplications of law considered, we intreat you
 ‘ that you would be pleased to compassionate our case,
 ‘ and out of your mercy and justice relieve and right
 ‘ us: the way of doing it is left to your wisdom.’

Being thereupon admitted to an hearing before a
 committee, on the 22d of the month called March,
 1678, he made the following speeches.

His

His first Speech to the COMMITTEE.

IF we ought to believe that it is our duty, accord-
 ing to the doctrine of the apostle, to be always
 ready to give an account of the hope that is in us,
 and that to every sober and private enquirer; cer-
 tainly much more ought we to hold ourselves obliged
 to declare with all readiness, when called to it by so
 great an authority, what is NOT our hope, especially
 when our very safety is eminently concerned in so
 doing, and that we cannot decline this discrimination
 of ourselves from Papists, without being conscious
 to ourselves of the guilt of our own sufferings; for
 that must every man needs be that suffers mutely,
 under another character than that which truly and
 properly belongeth to him and his belief. That
 which giveth me a more than ordinary right to speak
 at this time, and in this place, is the great abuse
 that I have received above any other of my profes-
 sion; for of a long time I have not only been sup-
 posed a Papist, but a seminary, a Jesuit, an emissary
 of Rome, and in pay from the Pope, a man dedi-
 cating my endeavours to the interest and advance-
 ment of that party. Nor hath this been the report
 of the rabble, but the jealousy and insinuation of
 persons otherwise sober and discreet: nay, some ze-
 lous for the Protestant religion, have been so far
 gone in this mistake, as not only to think ill of us,
 and to decline our conversation, but to take courage
 to themselves to prosecute us for a sort of concealed
 Papists; and the truth is, what with one thing, and
 what with another, we have been as the wool-sacks,
 and common whipping-stock of the kingdom: all
 laws have been let loose upon us, as if the design
 were not to reform, but to destroy us, and that not for
 what we ARE, but for what we are NOT: it is hard
 that we must thus bear the stripes of another interest,
 and be their proxy in punishment; but it is worse

‘ that some men can please themselves in such a sort of
 ‘ administration.

‘ I would not be mistaken: I am far from thinking
 ‘ it fit that Papists should be whipt for their con-
 ‘ sciences, because I exclaim against the injustice of
 ‘ whipping Quakers for Papists: no; for though the
 ‘ hand pretended to be lifted up against them, hath
 ‘ (I know not by what discretion) lit heavy upon us,
 ‘ and we complain, yet we do not mean that any should
 ‘ take a fresh aim at them, or that they must come in
 ‘ our room; for we must give the liberty we ask, and
 ‘ cannot be false to our principles, though it were to
 ‘ relieve ourselves; for we have good-will to all men,
 ‘ and would have none suffer for a truly sober and
 ‘ conscientious dissent on any hand: and I humbly
 ‘ take leave to add, that those methods against persons
 ‘ so qualified, do not seem to me to be convincing, or
 ‘ indeed adequate to the REASON of mankind; but this
 ‘ I submit to your consideration.

‘ To conclude, I hope we shall be held excused of the
 ‘ men of that profession in giving this distinguishing
 ‘ declaration, since it is not with design to expose them,
 ‘ but first to pay that regard we owe to the enquiry of
 ‘ this committee, and in the next place, to relieve our-
 ‘ selves from the daily spoil and ruin which now at-
 ‘ tendeth and threateneth many hundreds of families,
 ‘ by the execution of LAWS, that (we humbly con-
 ‘ ceive) were never made AGAINST us.’

His second Speech to the COMMITTEE.

‘ **T**HE candid hearing our sufferings have received
 ‘ from this committee, and the fair and easy
 ‘ entertainment that you have given us, obligeth me
 ‘ to add whatever can encrease your satisfaction about
 ‘ us. I hope you do not believe I would tell you a
 ‘ lie; I am sure I should chuse an ill time and place to
 ‘ tell it in; but I thank God it is too late in the day
 ‘ for that. There are some here that have known me
 ‘ formerly; I believe they will say, I never was THAT
 ‘ man;

‘ man; and it would be hard, if after a voluntary
 ‘ neglect of the advantages of this world, I should sit
 ‘ down in my retirement short of common truth.

‘ Excuse the length of my introduction; it is for
 ‘ this I make it. I was bred a PROTESTANT, and that
 ‘ strictly too: I lost nothing by time or study; for
 ‘ years, reading, travel and observation, made the re-
 ‘ ligion of my education the religion of my JUDGE-
 ‘ MENT: my alteration hath brought none to that be-
 ‘ lief; and though the posture I am in may seem odd,
 ‘ or strange to you, yet I am conscientious; and (till
 ‘ you know me better) I hope your charity will rather
 ‘ call it my unhappiness than my crime. I do tell
 ‘ you again, and here solemnly declare in the presence
 ‘ of Almighty God, and before you all, that the pro-
 ‘ fession I now make, and the society I now adhere to,
 ‘ have been so far from altering that Protestant judg-
 ‘ ment I had, that I am not conscious to myself of
 ‘ having receded from an an iota of any one princi-
 ‘ ple maintained by those first Protestants and reformers
 ‘ of Germany, and our own martyrs at home, against
 ‘ the POPE and SEE of ROME.

‘ On the contrary, I do with great truth assure you,
 ‘ that we are of the same NEGATIVE faith with the an-
 ‘ cient *Protestant Church*, and upon occasion shall be ready
 ‘ (by God’s assistance) to make it appear, that we are
 ‘ of the same belief as to the most fundamental POSI-
 ‘ TIVE articles of her CREED too. And therefore it is
 ‘ we think it hard, that though we deny, in com-
 ‘ mon with her, those doctrines of Rome so zealously
 ‘ *protested* against (from whence the name Protestants)
 ‘ yet that we should be so unhappy as to suffer, and
 ‘ that with extreme severity, by those very laws on
 ‘ purpose made against the maintainers of those doc-
 ‘ trines we do so deny. We CHUSE no suffering, for
 ‘ God knows what we have already suffered, and how
 ‘ many sufficient and trading families are reduced to
 ‘ great poverty by it. We think ourselves an useful
 ‘ people: we are sure we are a peaceable people; yet,
 ‘ if

‘ if we must still suffer, let us not suffer as POPISH
 ‘ RECUSANTS, but as PROTESTANT DISSENTERS.

‘ But I would obviate another objection, and that
 ‘ none of the least that hath been made against us, viz.
 ‘ that we are enemies to government in general, and
 ‘ particularly disaffected to this we live under: I think
 ‘ it not amiss, but very seasonable, yea my duty, now
 ‘ to declare to you (and that I do with good con-
 ‘ science in the sight of the Almighty God) first, that
 ‘ we believe GOVERNMENT to be *God's ordinance*; and
 ‘ next, that this PRESENT government is established by
 ‘ the *Providence of God* and *law of the land*, and that
 ‘ it is our Christian duty readily to obey it in all its
 ‘ *just laws*; and wherein we cannot comply, through
 ‘ *tenderness of conscience*, in all such cases, not to revile
 ‘ or conspire against the government, but with Chris-
 ‘ tian humility and patience tire out all mistakes
 ‘ against us, and wait their better information, who,
 ‘ we believe, do as undeservedly as severely treat us;
 ‘ and I know not what greater security can be given
 ‘ by any people, or how any government can be easier
 ‘ from the subjects of it.

‘ I shall conclude with this; that we are so far from
 ‘ esteeming it hard or ill, that the House hath put us
 ‘ upon this discrimination, that on the contrary we va-
 ‘ lue it, as we ought to do, for an high favour (and
 ‘ cannot chuse but see and humbly acknowledge God's
 ‘ Providence therein) that you should give us this fair
 ‘ occasion to discharge ourselves of a burden we have,
 ‘ not with more patience than injustice, suffered but
 ‘ too many years under: and I hope our conversation
 ‘ shall always manifest the grateful resentment of our
 ‘ minds for the justice and civility of this opportunity;
 ‘ and so I pray God direct you.’

The committee agreed to insert, in a bill then de-
 pending, a proviso or clause for relief in the case com-
 plained of; and the same did pass the House of Com-
 mons: but before it had gone through the House of
 Lords,

Lords, it was quashed by a sudden prorogation of the parliament.

The generality of people being now in a hurry and consternation of mind upon the discovery of the popish plot, and apprehensions of a French invasion; he, lest the minds of any of his friends the Quakers should be drawn from their wonted dependence upon God, to partake of the popular uneasiness, writ an epistle to them, directed, "To the Children of Light in this Generation," which is inserted in this collection.

And in the next year^s, the nation still continuing under fears of wicked designs on foot for subverting the Protestant religion, and introducing Popery; he published a book entitled, "An Address to Protestants," wherein he sets forth the reigning evils of the times, and endeavours to excite men to repentance and amendment of life, as the best means to cure their fears, and prevent the impending dangers.

The same year also he prefixed to the works of Samuel Fisher, then printing in folio, a testimony concerning that author, who having been a minister of the church of England, and afterwards a preacher among the Baptists, at length joined in profession with the Quakers, and died a prisoner for his testimony in the year 1665.

The rising hopes of Papists, and the just fears of Protestants, kept the nation still in a ferment; and writs being issued for summoning a new parliament, party struggles for power ran high, on which occasion our author dedicated to the freeholders and electors a sheet called "England's great Interest in the Choice of this New Parliament;" and soon after the parliament sitting, he presented to them a book entitled, "One Project for the Good of England."

In this year 1680, died that excellent princess Elizabeth of the Rhine, before mentioned, to whose real worth our author's religious gratitude dedicated

a memorial, by transmitting to posterity her exemplary character, in the second edition of his "No Cross, no Crown," printed anno 1682.

On the eighth of the eighth month this year also, departed this life his dear friend and father-in-law Isaac Pennington; to whose virtues he published a testimony, and prefixed it to his works, that year printed in folio.

There being about this time^b some difference in judgment among his friends the Quakers about establishing church discipline, (a point not easily fixed, so as neither to subject the conscience to an ecclesiastical authority, nor yet to give an unlimited liberty of running into anarchy and confusion) he published a little book, called, 'A Brief Examination of Liberty Spiritual.'

A fresh persecution being now raised in the city of Bristol, where Sir John Knight, sheriff, John Hellier, attorney at law, and other their accomplices, put the penal laws in a rigorous execution, many of the people called Quakers there were fined and imprisoned. To whom William Penn wrote the following epistle for their Christian consolation and encouragement, directed,

' To the Friends of God in the City of Bristol.'

' This sent to be read among them, when assembled
' to wait upon the Lord.'

' My Beloved in the Lord!

' **I** Do herewith send amongst you the dear and tender
' salutation of my unfeigned love, that is held in
' the fellowship of the lasting Gospel of Peace, that
' has many years been preached and believed amongst
' you, beseeching the God and Father of this glorious
' day of the Son of Man, to increase and multiply his

^a 1681.

E 2

' grace,

‘ grace, mercy and peace among you, that you may
 ‘ be faithful, and abound in every good word and
 ‘ work, doing and suffering what is pleasing unto God,
 ‘ that you may prove what is that good and acceptable
 ‘ and perfect will of God, which becomes you to be
 ‘ found daily doing, that so an entrance may be ad-
 ‘ ministered unto you abundantly into the kingdom
 ‘ of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that is an
 ‘ everlasting kingdom. My beloved brethren and
 ‘ sisters! Be not cast down at the rage of evil men,
 ‘ whose anger works not the righteousness of God,
 ‘ and whose cruelty the Lord will limit. Nothing
 ‘ strange or unusual is come to pass; it makes well
 ‘ for them that eye the Lord in and through these
 ‘ sufferings: there is food in affliction, and though the
 ‘ instruments of it cannot see it, all shall work toge-
 ‘ ther for good to them that fear the Lord: keep your
 ‘ ground in the TRUTH, that was, and is, the saints
 ‘ victory: they that shrink, go out of it; it is a
 ‘ shield to the righteous: feel it; and see, I charge
 ‘ you by the presence of the Lord, that you turn not
 ‘ aside the Lord’s end towards you in this suffering,
 ‘ by consulting with flesh and blood in easing your
 ‘ adversaries, for that will load you. Keep out of
 ‘ base bargainings, or conniving at fleshly evasions of
 ‘ the cross. Our captain would not leave us such an
 ‘ example: let them shrink, that know not why they
 ‘ should stand; we know in whom we have believed:
 ‘ he is mightier in the faithful to suffer and endure to
 ‘ the end, than the world to persecute: call to mind
 ‘ those blessed ancients, “ that by faith overcame of
 ‘ old, that endured cruel mockings and scourgings,
 ‘ yea, moreover bonds and imprisonments, that ac-
 ‘ cepted not deliverance (to deny their testimony)
 ‘ that they might obtain a better resurrection: they
 ‘ were stoned, they were tempted, they were sawn
 ‘ asunder, they were slain with the sword;” ‘ but YE
 ‘ have not so resisted unto BLOOD; and it sufficeth, I
 ‘ hope, to you, “ that the Lord knoweth how to de-
 ‘ liver the godly out of temptation, and to reserve
 ‘ the

“ the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished,”
 ‘ when it may be truly said, “ It shall go well with
 ‘ the righteous, but very ill with the wicked.” ‘ The
 ‘ Lord God by his power keep your hearts living to
 ‘ him, that it may be your delight to wait upon him,
 ‘ and receive the bounty of his love; that being fed
 ‘ with his daily bread, and drinking of his cup of
 ‘ blessing, you may be raised above the fear or trou-
 ‘ ble of earthly things, and grow strong in him who
 ‘ is your Crown of Rejoicing; that having answered
 ‘ his requirings, and walked faithfully before him,
 ‘ you may receive, in the END of your days, the wel-
 ‘ come sentence of gladness. ETERNAL RICHES are
 ‘ before you, an *inheritance* incorruptible: press after
 ‘ that glorious mark: let your minds be set on things
 ‘ that are ABOVE; and when Christ, that is the glory
 ‘ of his poor people, shall appear, THEY shall appear
 ‘ with him in glory; when all tears shall be wiped
 ‘ away, and there shall be no more sorrow or sighing,
 ‘ but they that overcome shall stand as mount Sion,
 ‘ that cannot be moved.

‘ So my dear friends and brethren, endure, that you
 ‘ may be saved, and you shall reap, if you faint not.
 ‘ What should we be troubled for? Our kingdom is
 ‘ not of THIS world, nor can be shaken by the over-
 ‘ turning here below. Let all give glory to God on
 ‘ high, live peaceably on earth, and shew good-will
 ‘ to all men, and our enemies will at last see, they
 ‘ do they know not what, and repent, and glorify
 ‘ God our heavenly Father. O! great is God’s work
 ‘ on earth. Be UNIVERSAL in your spirits, and keep
 ‘ out of all straitness and narrowness: look to God’s
 ‘ great and glorious kingdom, and its prosperity: our
 ‘ time is not our own, nor are we our own: God hath
 ‘ bought us with a PRICE, not to serve ourselves, but
 ‘ to glorify him, both in body, soul, and spirit; and
 ‘ by bodily sufferings for the truth, he is glorified.
 ‘ Look to the accomplishing of the will of God in
 ‘ these things, that the measure of Christ’s sufferings
 ‘ may be filled up in us, who bear about the “ Dying

“ of the Lord Jesus ;” ‘ else our suffering is in vain.
 ‘ Wherefore, as the flock of God, and family and
 ‘ household of faith, walk with your loins girded, be-
 ‘ ing sober, hoping to the end for the grace and
 ‘ kindness which shall be brought unto you at the re-
 ‘ velation of Jesus Christ, to whom you and yours
 ‘ are committed: his precious Spirit minister unto
 ‘ you, and his own life be shed abroad plenteously
 ‘ among you, that you may be kept blameless to the
 ‘ end.

‘ I am

‘ Your friend and brother, in the fellowship
 ‘ of the suffering for the TRUTH, as it is
 ‘ in JESUS.

‘ Worminghurst, the 24th of
 the 12th month, 1681.’

‘ WILLIAM PENN.’

Having hitherto attended our author through a continued series of his labours and travels in the service of the gospel, and work of the ministry in these parts of the world; we shall now accompany him to his province of Pennsylvania.

King Charles the Second, in consideration of the services of Sir William Penn, and sundry debts due to him from the crown at the time of his decease, by letters patent, bearing date the 4th of March, 1680-1, granted to William Penn and his heirs that province lying on the west side of the river Delaware, in North America, formerly belonging to the Dutch, and then called the New Netherlands: the name was now changed by the king, in honour of William Penn, whom and his heirs he made absolute proprietors and governors of it. Upon this, he presently publishes an “ Account of the Province of Pennsylvania,” with the king’s patent, and other papers relating thereto, describing the country and its produce, and proposing an easy purchase of lands, and good terms of settlement, for such as might incline to transport themselves. Many single persons, and some families, out of England and Wales, went over; and with singular industry

dustry and application having cleared their purchased lands, settled, and soon improved plantations to good advantage, and began to build the city of Philadelphia, in a commodious situation on the aforefaid navigable river Delaware. And to secure the new planters from the native Indians, (who, in some other provinces, being injuriously dealt with, had made reprisals, to the loss of many lives) the governor gave orders to treat them with all candour and humanity; and appointed commissioners to confer with them about land, and to confirm a league of peace; by whom also he sent them the following letter.

‘ London, the 18th of the 8th month, 1681.

+ ‘ MY FRIENDS,

‘ **T**HERE is a GREAT GOD and Power, that hath
 ‘ made the world and all things therein, to whom
 ‘ you and I and all people owe their being and well-
 ‘ being; and to whom you and I must one day give
 ‘ an account for all that we do in the world: this
 ‘ Great God hath written his LAW in our hearts, by
 ‘ which we are taught and commanded to love and
 ‘ help, and do good to one another, and not to do
 ‘ harm and mischief unto one another: now this Great
 ‘ God hath been pleased to make me concerned in
 ‘ your part of the world, and the king of the coun-
 ‘ try where I live hath given me a great province
 ‘ therein; but I desire to enjoy it with your love and
 ‘ consent, that we may always live together as neigh-
 ‘ bours and friends; else what would the Great God
 ‘ do to us? who hath made us not to devour and
 ‘ destroy one another, but to live soberly and kindly
 ‘ together in the world. Now I would have you well
 ‘ observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness
 ‘ and injustice that hath been too much exercised to-
 ‘ wards you by the people of these parts of the world,
 ‘ who have sought themselves, and to make great
 ‘ advantages by you, rather than to be examples of
 ‘ justice

‘ justice and goodness unto you, which I hear hath
 ‘ been matter of trouble unto you, and caused great
 ‘ grudgings and animosities, sometimes to the shed-
 ‘ ding of blood, which hath made the Great God
 ‘ angry. But I am not such a man, as is well known
 ‘ in my own country: I have great love and regard
 ‘ towards you, and I desire to win and gain your love
 ‘ and friendship by a kind, just, and peaceable life,
 ‘ and the people I send are of the same mind, and
 ‘ shall in all things behave themselves accordingly;
 ‘ and if in any thing any shall offend you, or your
 ‘ people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction
 ‘ for the same, by an equal number of just men on
 ‘ both sides, that by no means you may have just oc-
 ‘ casion of being offended against them. I shall
 ‘ shortly come to you myself, at what time we may
 ‘ more largely and freely confer and discourse of
 ‘ these matters; in the mean time I have sent my com-
 ‘ missioners to treat with you about land, and a firm
 ‘ league of peace: let me desire you to be kind to
 ‘ them and the people, and receive these presents and
 ‘ tokens which I have sent you, as a testimony of my
 ‘ good-will to you, and my resolution to live justly,
 ‘ peaceably, and friendly with you.

‘ I am your loving friend,

‘ W. PENN.’

His friendly and pacifick manner of treating the In-
 dians begat in them an extraordinary love and regard
 to him and his people, so that they have maintained a
 perfect amity with the English of Pennsylvania ever
 since. And it is observable, that upon renewing their
 treaty with Sir William Keith, bart. their governor
 in 1722, they mention the name of William Penn
 with much gratitude and affection, calling him, * “A

* See the Historical Register for the year 1723, numb. XXX.
 pag. 107.

“GOOD MAN,” and, as their highest compliment to Sir William, use this expression,* “We esteem and love you as if you were WILLIAM PENN himself.” So universally doth a principle of peace, justice, and morality, operate on the hearts even of those we call heathens.

He also drew up the fundamental constitutions of Pennsylvania, in twenty-four articles, consented to and subscribed by the first adventurers and freeholders of that province, as the ground and rule of all future government: the first of which articles, shewing that his principle was to give, as well as take, liberty of conscience in matters of religion, we shall transcribe:

THE FIRST CONSTITUTION.

‘**I**N reverence to God, the Father of light and spirits, the author, as well as object, of all divine knowledge, faith and worship, I do, for me and mine, declare and establish, for the first fundamental of the government of this country, that every person that doth or shall reside therein, shall have and enjoy the free profession of his or her faith, and exercise of worship towards God, in such way and manner as every such person shall in conscience believe is most acceptable to God: and so long as every such person useth not this Christian liberty to licentiousness, or the destruction of others; that is to say, to speak loosely and prophanely or contemptuously of God, Christ, the holy scriptures, or religion, or commit any moral evil or injury against others in their conversation; he or she shall be protected in the enjoyment of the aforesaid Christian liberty by the civil magistrate.’

In the next year, 1682, he published “The Frame of Government of Pennsylvania,” containing twen-

* See the Historical Register for the year 1723, numb. XXX. pag. 108.

ty-four articles, somewhat varying from the aforesaid constitutions, together with certain other laws to the number of forty, agreed on in England, by the governor and divers freemen of the said province: of which laws one was,

- ‘ That all persons living in this province, who con-
- ‘ fess and acknowledge the One Almighty and
- ‘ Eternal God, to be the Creator, Upholder and
- ‘ Ruler of the world, and that hold themselves
- ‘ obliged in conscience to live peaceably and
- ‘ justly in civil society, shall in no-wise be mo-
- ‘ lested or prejudiced for their religious persua-
- ‘ sion or practice in matters of faith and worship;
- ‘ nor shall they be compelled at any time to fre-
- ‘ quent or maintain any religious worship, place,
- ‘ or ministry whatsoever.’

The rest of those laws relating to the encouragement of the planters, suppressing of vice and immorality, and the good government and regulation of the province, our reader may peruse at his pleasure.

The time of his departure for America being now at hand, he wrote the following letter to his wife and children a little before he embarked.

‘ My dear WIFE and CHILDREN :

X. **M**Y love, that sea nor land, nor death itself
 ‘ can extinguish or lessen toward you, most
 ‘ endearedly visits you with eternal embraces, and will
 ‘ abide with you for ever: and may the God of my
 ‘ life watch over you, and bless you, and do you good
 ‘ in this world, and for ever.—Some things are upon
 ‘ my spirit to leave with you in your respective capa-
 ‘ cities; as I am to one a husband, and to the rest a
 ‘ father; if I should never see you more in this
 ‘ world.

‘ My dear wife; remember thou wast the love of
 ‘ my youth, and much the joy of my life; the most
 ‘ beloved, as well as most worthy, of all my earthly
 ‘ com-

‘ comforts: and the reason of that love was more thy
 ‘ inward, than thy outward excellencies (which yet
 ‘ were many). God knows, and thou knowest it, I
 ‘ can say it was a match of Providence’s making; and
 ‘ God’s image in us both was the first thing, and the
 ‘ most amiable and engaging ornament in our eyes.
 ‘ Now I am to leave thee, and that without knowing
 ‘ whether I shall ever see thee more in this world, take
 ‘ my counsel into thy bosom, and let it dwell with
 ‘ thee in my stead while thou livest.

1st, ‘ Let the fear of the Lord, and a zeal and love
 ‘ to his glory, dwell richly in thy heart; and thou
 ‘ wilt watch for good over thyself and thy dear chil-
 ‘ dren and family, that no rude, light, or bad thing
 ‘ be committed: else God will be offended, and he
 ‘ will repent himself of the good he intends thee and
 ‘ thine.

2dly, ‘ Be diligent in meetings for worship and bu-
 ‘ siness; stir up thyself and others herein; it is thy
 ‘ day and place: and let meetings be kept once a day
 ‘ in the family, to wait upon the Lord, who has
 ‘ given us much time for ourselves: and, my dearest,
 ‘ to make thy family matters easy to thee, divide thy
 ‘ time, and be regular; it is easy and sweet; thy re-
 ‘ tirement will afford thee to do it: as in the morning
 ‘ to view the business of the house, and fix it as thou
 ‘ desirest, seeing all be in order; that by thy counsel
 ‘ all may move, and to thee render an account every
 ‘ evening. The time for work, for walking, for
 ‘ meals, may be certain, at least as near as may be;
 ‘ and grieve not thyself with careless servants, they
 ‘ will disorder thee; rather pay them, and let them
 ‘ go, if they will not be better by admonition: this
 ‘ is best to avoid many words, which I know wound
 ‘ the soul, and offend the Lord.

3dly, ‘ Cast up thy income, and see what it daily
 ‘ amounts to; by which thou mayest be sure to have
 ‘ it in thy sight and power to keep within compass:
 ‘ and I beseech thee to live low and sparingly, till my
 ‘ debts are paid; and then enlarge as thou seest it

' convenient. Remember thy mother's example, when
 ' thy father's publick-spiritedness had worsted his
 ' estate (which is my case.) I know thou lovest plain
 ' things, and art averse to the pomps of the world; a
 ' nobility natural to thee. I write not as doubtful,
 ' but to quicken thee, for my sake, to be more vigi-
 ' lant herein; knowing that God will bless thy care,
 ' and thy poor children and thee for it. My mind is
 ' wrapt up in a saying of thy father's, "I desire not
 ' riches, but to owe nothing;" and truly that is
 ' wealth; and more than enough to live, is a snare
 ' attended with many sorrows. I need not bid thee
 ' be humble, for thou art so; nor meek and patient,
 ' for it is much of thy natural disposition: but I pray
 ' thee be oft in retirement with the Lord, and guard
 ' against encroaching friendships. Keep them at arm's
 ' end; for it is giving away our power, eye, and self
 ' too, into the possession of another; and that which
 ' might seem engaging in the beginning, may prove
 ' a yoke and burden too hard and heavy in the end.
 ' Wherefore keep dominion over thyself, and let thy
 ' children, good meetings, and friends, be the pleasure
 ' of thy life.

4thly, ' And now, my dearest, let me recommend
 ' to thy care my dear children; abundantly beloved
 ' of me, as the Lord's blessings, and the sweet pledges
 ' of our mutual and endeared affection. Above all
 ' things endeavour to breed them up in the love of
 ' virtue, and that holy plain way of it which we have
 ' lived in, that the world, in no part of it, get into
 ' my family. I had rather they were homely than
 ' finely bred, as to outward behaviour; yet I love
 ' sweetness mixed with gravity, and cheerfulness tem-
 ' pered with sobriety. Religion in the heart leads
 ' into this true civility, teaching men and women to
 ' be mild and courteous in their behaviour; an ac-
 ' complishment worthy indeed of praise.

5thly, ' Next breed them up in a love one of an-
 ' other: tell them, it is the charge I left behind me;
 ' and that it is the way to have the love and blessing
 ' of

of God upon them: also what his portion is who
 hates, or calls his brother fool. Sometimes separate
 them, but not long; and allow them to send and
 give each other small things, to endear one another
 with. Once more, I say, tell them it was my coun-
 sel, they should be tender and affectionate one to
 another. For their learning be liberal: spare no
 cost; for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved;
 but let it be useful knowledge, such as is consistent
 with truth and godliness, not cherishing a vain con-
 versation or idle mind; but ingenuity mixed with
 industry is good for the body and mind too. I re-
 commend the useful parts of mathematicks, as build-
 ing houses or ships, measuring, surveying, dialling,
 navigation, &c. but agriculture is especially in my
 eye: let my children be husbandmen and house-
 wives; it is industrious, healthy, honest, and of
 good example: like Abraham, and the holy ancients,
 who pleased God, and obtained a good report. This
 leads to consider the works of God and nature, of
 things that are good, and diverts the mind from
 being taken up with the vain arts and inventions of
 a luxurious world. It is commendable in the princes
 of Germany, and the nobles of that empire, that
 they have all their children instructed in some useful
 occupation. Rather keep an ingenious person in the
 house to teach them, than send them to schools;
 too many evil impressions being commonly received
 there. Be sure to observe their genius, and do not
 cross it as to learning: let them not dwell too long
 on one thing, but let their change be agreeable, and
 all their diversions have some little bodily labour in
 them. When grown big, have most care for them;
 for then there are more snares both within and with-
 out. When marriageable, see that they have worthy
 persons in their eye, of good life, and good fame
 for piety and understanding. I need no wealth but
 sufficiency; and be sure their love be dear, fervent,
 and mutual, that it may be happy for them. I
 chuse not they should be married to earthly cove-
 tous

' tous kindred; and of cities and towns of concourse
 ' beware; the world is apt to stick close to those who
 ' have lived and got wealth there: a country life and
 ' estate I like best for my children. I prefer a decent
 ' mansion of an hundred pounds per annum, before
 ' ten thousand pounds in London, or such-like place,
 ' in a way of trade. In fine, my dear, endeavour to
 ' breed them dutiful to the Lord, and his blessed
 ' light, truth, and grace in their hearts, who is their
 ' Creator; and his fear will grow up with them.
 ' Teach a child (says the wise man) the way thou
 ' wilt have him to walk, and when he is old he will
 ' not forget it. Next obedience to thee, their dear
 ' mother; and that not for wrath, but for conscience
 ' sake; liberal to the poor, pitiful to the mi-
 ' serable, humble and kind to all. And may my
 ' God make thee a blessing, and give thee comfort in
 ' our dear children; and in age, gather thee to the
 ' joy and blessedness of the just (where no death shall
 ' separate us) for ever.

' And now, my dear children, that are the gifts
 ' and mercies of the God of your tender father; hear
 ' my counsel, and lay it up in your hearts; love it
 ' more than treasure, and follow it, and you shall be
 ' blessed here, and happy hereafter.

' In the first place, remember your Creator in the
 ' days of your youth. It was the glory of Israel in
 ' the 2d of Jeremiah: and how did God bless Josiah,
 ' because he feared him in his youth! And so he did
 ' Jacob, Joseph, and Moses. Oh! my dear children,
 ' remember, and fear and serve him who made you,
 ' and gave you to me and your dear mother: that you
 ' may live to him, and glorify him, in your gene-
 ' rations.

' To do this, in your youthful days seek after the
 ' Lord, that you may find him; remembering his
 ' great love in creating you; that you are not beasts,
 ' plants, or stones; but that he has kept you, and
 ' given you his grace within, and substance without,
 ' and provided plentifully for you. This remember
 ' in

‘ in your youth, that you may be kept from the evil
 ‘ of the world: for, in age, it will be harder to over-
 ‘ come the temptations of it.

‘ Wherefore, my dear children, eschew the appear-
 ‘ ance of evil, and love and cleave to that in your
 ‘ hearts, that shews you evil from good, and tells you
 ‘ when you do amiss, and reproves you for it. It is
 ‘ the light of Christ, that he has given you for your
 ‘ salvation. If you do this, and follow my counsel,
 ‘ God will bless you in this world, and give you an
 ‘ inheritance in that which shall never have an end.
 ‘ For the light of Jesus is of a purifying nature; it
 ‘ seasons those who love it, and take heed to it; and
 ‘ never leaves such, till it has brought them to
 ‘ the city of God, that has foundations. Oh! that ye
 ‘ may be seasoned with the gracious nature of it;
 ‘ hide it in your hearts, and flee, my dear children,
 ‘ from all youthful lusts; the vain sports, pastimes
 ‘ and pleasures of the world; redeeming the time,
 ‘ because the days are evil. You are now beginning
 ‘ to live—what would some give for your time? Oh!
 ‘ I could have lived better, were I, as you, in the
 ‘ flower of youth.—Therefore, love and fear the Lord,
 ‘ keep close to meetings; and delight to wait on the
 ‘ Lord God of your father and mother, among his
 ‘ despised people, as we have done; and count it your
 ‘ honour to be members of that society, and heirs of
 ‘ that living fellowship, which is enjoyed among them
 ‘ —for the experience of which your father’s soul
 ‘ blesteth the Lord for ever.

‘ Next, be obedient to your dear mother; a woman
 ‘ whose virtue and good name is an honour to you;
 ‘ for she hath been exceeded by none in her time for
 ‘ her plainness, integrity, industry, humanity, virtue,
 ‘ and good understanding: qualities not usual among
 ‘ women of her worldly condition and quality. There-
 ‘ fore honour and obey her, my dear children, as your
 ‘ mother, and your father’s love and delight: nay,
 ‘ love her too, for she loved your father with a deep
 ‘ and

‘ and upright love: chusing him before all her many
 ‘ suitors: and though she be of a delicate constitution
 ‘ and noble spirit, yet she descended to the utmost ten-
 ‘ derness and care for you; performing the painfullest
 ‘ acts of service to you in your infancy, as a mother
 ‘ and a nurse too. I charge you before the Lord, ho-
 ‘ nour and obey, love and cherish your dear mother.

‘ Next, betake yourselves to some honest, indus-
 ‘ trious course of life; and that not of sordid cove-
 ‘ tousness, but for example, and to avoid idleness.
 ‘ And if you change your condition and marry, chuse
 ‘ with the knowledge and consent of your mother, if
 ‘ living, guardians, or those that have the charge of
 ‘ you.—Mind neither beauty nor riches, but the fear
 ‘ of the Lord, and a sweet and amiable disposition; such
 ‘ as you can love above all this world, and that may
 ‘ make your habitations pleasant and desirable to you.

‘ And being married, be tender, affectionate, and
 ‘ patient, and meek. Live in the fear of the Lord,
 ‘ and he will bless you and your offspring. Be sure
 ‘ to live within compass; borrow not, neither be be-
 ‘ holden to any.—Ruin not yourselves by kindness to
 ‘ others, for that exceeds the due bounds of friend-
 ‘ ship: neither will a true friend expect it. Small
 ‘ matters I heed not.

‘ Let your industry and parsimony go no farther than
 ‘ for a sufficiency for life, and to make a provision for
 ‘ your children, and that in moderation, if the Lord
 ‘ gives you any. I charge you help the poor and
 ‘ needy; let the Lord have a voluntary share of your
 ‘ income, for the good of the poor, both in our so-
 ‘ ciety and others: for we are all his creatures; re-
 ‘ membering that “ he that giveth to the poor, lend-
 ‘ eth to the Lord.”

‘ Know well your in-comings, and your out-goings
 ‘ may be better regulated. Love not money, nor the
 ‘ world: use them only, and they will serve you: but
 ‘ if you love them you serve them;— which will de-
 ‘ base your spirits, as well as offend the Lord.

‘ Pity—

‘ Pity the distressed, and hold out a hand of help
‘ to them; it may be your case: and as you mete to
‘ others, God will mete to you again.

‘ Be humble and gentle in your conversation;—of
‘ few words, I charge you; but always pertinent when
‘ you speak: hearing out before you attempt to an-
‘ swer; and then speaking as if you would persuade,
‘ not impose.

‘ Affront none, neither revenge the affronts that are
‘ done to you; but forgive, and you shall be forgiven
‘ of your Heavenly Father.

‘ In making friends consider well first; and when
‘ you are fixed, be true; not wavering by reports, nor
‘ deserting in affliction: for that becomes not the good
‘ and virtuous.

‘ Watch against anger, neither speak nor act in it;
‘ for, like drunkenness, it makes a man a beast, and
‘ throws people into desperate inconveniencies.

‘ Avoid flatterers; for they are thieves in disguise;
‘ their praise is costly, designing to get by those they
‘ bespeak; they are the worst of creatures; they lye
‘ to flatter, and flatter to cheat:—and, which is worse,
‘ if you believe them, you cheat yourselves most dan-
‘ gerously. But the virtuous, though poor, love,
‘ cherish, and prefer. Remember David, who ask-
‘ ing the Lord “ Who shall abide in thy tabernacle;
‘ “ who shall dwell upon thy holy hill?” answers, “ He
‘ “ that walketh uprightly, worketh righteousness, and
‘ “ speaketh the truth in his heart; in whose eyes the
‘ “ vile person is contemned, but honoureth them who
‘ “ fear the Lord.”

‘ Next, my children, be temperate in all things:
‘ in your diet, for that is physick by prevention; it
‘ keeps, nay, it makes people healthy, and their ge-
‘ neration sound. This is exclusive of the spiritual
‘ advantage it brings. Be also plain in your apparel;
‘ keep out that lust which reigns too much over some;
‘ let your virtues be your ornaments; remembering
‘ life is more than food, and the body than raiment.
‘ Let your furniture be simple and cheap. Avoid

' pride, avarice, and luxury. Read my No Cross,
 ' No Crown! There is instruction. Make your con-
 ' versation with the most eminent for wisdom and
 ' piety; and shun all wicked men, as you hope for the
 ' blessing of God, and the comfort of your father's
 ' living and dying prayers. Be sure you speak no
 ' evil of any, no, not of the meanest; much less of
 ' your superiors, as magistrates, guardians, tutors,
 ' teachers, and elders in Christ.

' Be no busy-bodies; meddle not with other folks
 ' matters, but when in conscience and duty prest: for
 ' it procures trouble, and is ill-manners, and very un-
 ' seemly to wise men.

' In your families remember Abraham, Moses, and
 ' Joshua, their integrity to the Lord; and do as you
 ' have them for your examples.

' Let the fear and service of the living God be en-
 ' couraged in your houses, and that plainness, sobriety,
 ' and moderation in all things, as becometh God's
 ' chosen people: and, as I advise you, my beloved
 ' children, do you counsel yours, if God should give
 ' you any. Yea, I counsel and command them, as
 ' my posterity, that they love and serve the Lord God
 ' with an upright heart; that he may bless you and
 ' yours, from generation to generation.

' And as for you who are likely to be concerned in
 ' the government of Pennsylvania, and my parts of
 ' East Jersey, especially the first, I do charge you,
 ' before the Lord God and his holy angels, that you
 ' be lowly, diligent, and tender; fearing God, loving
 ' the people, and hating covetousness. Let justice
 ' have its impartial course, and the law free passage.
 ' Though to your loss, protect no man against it: for
 ' you are not above the law, but the law above you.
 ' Live therefore the lives yourselves you would have
 ' the people live; and then you have right and bold-
 ' ness to punish the transgressor.—Keep upon the
 ' square, for God sees you; therefore do your duty:
 ' and be sure you see with your own eyes, and hear
 ' with your own ears.—Entertain no lurchers; cherish
 ' no

' no informers for gain or revenge:—use no tricks,
' fly to no devices, to support or cover injustice: but
' let your hearts be upright before the Lord, trusting
' in him above the contrivances of men, and none
' shall be able to hurt or supplant. ✕

' Oh! the Lord is a strong God; and he can do
' whatsoever he pleases: and though men consider it
' not, it is the Lord that rules and over-rules in the
' kingdoms of men: and he builds up and pulls down.
' I, your father, am the man that can say, he that
' trusts in the Lord, shall not be confounded. But
' God, in due time, will make his enemies be, at
' peace with him.

' If you thus behave yourselves, and so become a
' terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do
' well, God, my God, will be with you, in wisdom
' and a sound mind: and make you blessed instru-
' ments in his hand, for the settlements of some of
' those desolate parts of the world;—which my soul
' desires above all worldly honours and riches; both
' for you that go, and you that stay; you that govern,
' and you that are governed: that in the end you may
' be gathered with me to the rest of God.

' Finally, my children, love one another with a true
' endeared love, and your dear relations on both sides:
' and take care to preserve tender affection in your
' children to each other: often marrying within them-
' selves, so as it be without the bounds forbidden in
' God's law. That so they may not, like the forget-
' ting unnatural world, grow out of kindred, and as
' cold as strangers; but, as becomes a truly natural
' and christian stock, you and yours after you may
' live in the pure and fervent love of God towards one
' another, as becometh brethren in the spiritual and
' natural relation.

' So my God, that hath blessed me with his abun-
' dantly of this and the other and better
guide you by his counsel, bless
his eternal glory; that you
men, in the firmament of
God's

‘ God’s power, with the blessed spirits of the just,
 ‘ that celestial family, praising and admiring him, the
 ‘ God and Father of it, for ever. For there is no God
 ‘ like unto him; the God of Isaac, and of Jacob; the
 ‘ God of the prophets, the apostles, and martyrs of
 ‘ Jesus; in whom I live for ever.

‘ So farewell to my thrice dearly beloved wife and
 ‘ children. Yours, as God pleaseth, in that which no
 ‘ waters can quench, no time forget, nor distance wear
 ‘ away, but remains for ever,

‘ Worminghurst, 4th sixth
 ‘ month, 1682.’

‘ WILLIAM PENN.’

In the sixth month, 1682, himself, accompanied with divers of his friends, took shipping for his province of Pennsylvania, and on the 30th of the same month, he writ from the Downs, “ A Farewell to
 “ England, being an Epistle containing a Salutation to
 “ all faithful Friends.”

After a prosperous voyage of six weeks, they came within sight of the American coast, from whence the air, at twelve leagues distance, smelt as sweet as a new-blown garden. Sailing up the river, the inhabitants, as well Dutch and Swedes, as English, met him with demonstrations of joy and satisfaction. He landed at Newcastle, a place mostly inhabited by the Dutch, and the next day he summoned the people to the court-house, where possession of the country was legally given him: he then made a speech, setting forth the purpose of his coming, and the ends of government, giving them assurances of a free enjoyment of liberty of conscience in things spiritual, and of civil freedom in temporal, and recommending to them to live in sobriety and peace one with another: after which, he renewed the magistrates commissions, and then departed to Upland, or Chester, where he called an assembly, to whom he made the like declaration, and received their thankful acknowledgments. Here also the Swedes deputed one Captain Lucey Cook, in
 the 11

their names, to congratulate him upon his safe arrival, and to assure him of their fidelity, love and obedience.

By this time some progress had been made in building at Philadelphia, and several pretty houses were run up on the side of the river Delaware: the governor himself had a fair mansion erected at Penn's Bury, near the fall of the said river, at which he sometimes resided. The country was unexceptionable, the air exceeding clear, sweet and healthy; and provisions, both meat and drink, good and plentiful.

In the tenth month following, a general assembly of the freeholders was held at Chester aforesaid, at which Newcastle was annexed to Pennsylvania: the foreigners there inhabiting were naturalized, and the laws before agreed on in England, with some amendments and alterations, were confirmed and ratified; and the whole proceedings of the assembly carried on with love and unanimity.

After the adjournment of that assembly, he went to Maryland, and was there kindly received by the lord Baltimore, and the chiefs of that colony: they held a treaty about settling the bounds of their provinces; but the season of the year not admitting the conclusion of that business, after two days conference he took his leave, and the lord Baltimore accompanied him back some miles to the house of one William Richardson; from thence he went two miles farther to a meeting of his friends, at the house of Thomas Hooker, and afterward forwarded his journey to Choptank, on the eastern-shore; where was to be an appointed meeting of colonels, magistrates, and people of several ranks and qualities. Thus he proceeded to settle his government and province, and to establish a good correspondence with his neighbours. Nor was the advancement of himself or his family in worldly wealth and grandeur, his aim in the administration of government; but in the greatest honour of his publick station, he still retained the meekness and humility of a private Christian: the sincerity of his intentions, and

with what zeal and ardour he pursued a general good, are best expressed by his own words, in a letter to a person who had unduly reflected on him; viz.

‘ MY OLD FRIEND,

———— ‘ I could speak largely of God’s dealings with me in getting this thing: what an inward exercise of faith and patience it cost me in passing. The travail was mine, as well as the debt and cost, through the envy of many, both professors, false friends, and profane: my God hath given it me in the face of the world, and it is to hold it in true judgment, as a reward of my sufferings; and that is seen here, whatever some despisers may say or think: the place God hath given me, and I never felt judgment for the power I kept, but trouble for what I parted with. It is MORE than a worldly title or patent that hath clothed me in this place.—Keep thy place: I am in mine, and have served the God of the whole earth since I have been in it: nor am I sitting down in a greatness that I have denied.—I am day and night spending my life, my time, my money, and am not six-pence enriched by this greatness: costs in getting, settling, transportation, and maintenance, now in a publick manner at my own charge duly considered; to say nothing of my hazard, and the distance I am at from a considerable estate, and, which is more, my dear wife and poor children.

‘ Well!—the Lord is a God of righteous judgment: had I sought greatness, I had stayed at home, where the difference between what I am here, and was offered and could have been there, in power and wealth, is as wide as the places are: no, I came for the Lord’s sake, and therefore have I stood to this day, well, and diligent, and successful, blessed be his power.—Nor shall I trouble myself to tell thee what I am to the people of this place, in travails,
‘ watch-

‘ watchings, spendings, and my servants every way,
 ‘ FREELY, (not like a SELFISH man) I have many wit-
 ‘ nesses.—To conclude, it is now in Friends hands:
 ‘ through my travail, faith and patience it came.—If
 ‘ Friends here keep to God, and in the justice, mer-
 ‘ cy, equity and fear of the Lord, their enemies will
 ‘ be their footstool: if not, their heirs, and my heirs
 ‘ too, will lose all, and desolation will follow: but
 ‘ blessed be the Lord, we are well, and live in the
 ‘ dear love of God, and the fellowship of his tender
 ‘ heavenly Spirit; and our faith is, for ourselves and
 ‘ one another, that the Lord will be with us a KING
 ‘ and a COUNSELLOR for ever.

‘ Thy ancient, though grieved friend,

‘ Chester, 5th of the 12th
 ‘ month, 1682.’

‘ WILLIAM PENN.’

In the sixth month, 1683, having been about a year in Pennsylvania, he writ a letter ‘ To the Free Society
 ‘ of Traders of that Province, residing at London,’ wherein he describes the country, relates the customs and manners of the Indians, the condition of the first planters, and the present state and settlement of that province, with an account of the new-laid-out city of Philadelphia; which the reader may find no small pleasure in perusing.

‘ And being no less solicitous for the spiritual good, than for the temporal advantages of his people, he writ, in the year 1684, ‘ An Epistle to the People of
 ‘ God called Quakers, in the Province of Pennsyl-
 ‘ vania,’ &c.

After about two years residence there, having settled all things in a thriving and prosperous condition, he returned to England, where he arrived safe the 12th of the 6th month, 1684.

On the 6th of the 12th month following, King Charles the Second died, and was succeeded by his
 F 4 brother

brother the duke of York, by the name of king James the second, who being a professed Papist, his succession to the crown filled the people's hearts with just apprehensions and fears, lest he should take into the wonted measures of those of his persuasion, and establish his own religion by the destruction of others; and had W. P. at that time fomented the general uneasiness, by encouraging multitudes then upon the wing, he might, as himself said, 'have put many ' thousands of people into his province, as well as ' pounds into his pocket.' But he, who had been intimate with that king, when duke of York, and for whom, excepting their difference in matters of religion, the duke had always shewn a personal respect and esteem, was induced, by the repeated protestations he had heard him make, to believe that he was really PRINCIPLED for granting liberty of conscience; and accordingly embraced the present opportunity of soliciting afresh for the relief of his innocent and suffering friends, who at that time filled the jails; and that he might be the nearer on all occasions for the service of them and his country, he took lodgings, in 1685, near Kensington.

And now his acquaintance and frequency at court subjected him to the undeserved censure of such as least knew him, as being a Papist, or Jesuit; and about this time two copies of verses were printed, with the initial letters of his name subscribed, condoling the ' Late ' King's death, and congratulating the accession of ' the present.' These verses, though favouring both of popery and flattery, were, as perhaps the publisher's malice intended, presently imputed to him: whereupon, to undeceive the world, and clear himself, he published the following paper, called,

' FICTION FOUND OUT.'

' To my Esteemed Friends, called Quakers, on occasion of two copies of verses printed, and subscribed
' W. P.'

' DEAR FRIENDS,

' I Have writ this for your satisfaction; and yet not
' for yours, as you well say, but to inform those
' many that may importune you on my account, asking, if I was the author of the condoling and congratulating verses on the late and present king; printed (say they) in my name: concluding, if I were the author, I must needs have turned papist, flatterer, and what they please.

' Others, I perceive, without this help, as well as without truth or modesty, stick not to report me a declared papist, and that I openly go to mass.

' Now, though it looks idle in any to wonder I should be a papist at this time of day, that have been thought, and upon just as good ground, a Jesuit so many years; yet because they have no better evidence, a man would wonder why they should be so believing, but that we lamentably see men are apter to be injurious than just. In the mean while I have a fine time of it, to be reported a papist on one hand, and presented and prosecuted as a disaffected person on the other hand: but I know myself and the world too well, to be troubled at this, and worse, if that can be: it is enough for me it is
' FALSE.

' For the verses, if it be considered, the two letters W. P. begin five hundred names besides mine; and I, that pretend not to POETRY at any time, should hardly have done it then, when I must needs look to have such sad company as the dull flattery of all the suburbs of the town.

' But

' But that I did not write them, the stuff itself
 ' shews; and they must be bereaved of sense, as well
 ' as charity, that can think it: for to own myself a
 ' Quaker, and jeer the profession; to use their phrases,
 ' and profane them; to promise, as Quakers, to live
 ' peaceably, and yet engage to be no more such; to
 ' make ourselves loyal in one stanza, and ask pardon
 ' for NOT being so in another; be now a mistaken and
 ' wilful ROUT, and presently the loving and loyal
 ' FRIENDS of Charles and James; make up such a jar
 ' and a nonsense that I have not been used to be
 ' guilty of in prose; and whenever I turn such a
 ' PENNY-POET, let such confusion be my judgment:
 ' however, it would look rude to be angry at them;
 ' for certainly they put a mighty compliment upon
 ' my name, that thought two letters of it would make
 ' their drug sell; and because I am so known a friend
 ' to PROPERTY, to the unknown hawker-wit that writ
 ' them I leave them, with the credit of all the fine
 ' and foolish fancy they are laboured with: content-
 ' ing myself, against all defamations, that I have this
 ' defence for my religion and conduct in my conclu-
 ' sions:

' First, that the grace of God WITHIN me, and the
 ' scriptures WITHOUT me, are the foundation and de-
 ' claration of my faith and religion; and let any man
 ' get better if he can.

' Secondly, that the profession I make of this reli-
 ' gion, is in the same way and manner that I have
 ' used for almost these eighteen years last past.

' Thirdly, that my civil conduct, I humbly bless
 ' my God, has been with peace on earth, and good-
 ' will to all men, from the king on the throne, to the
 ' beggar on the dunghill.

' I have ever loved ENGLAND, and moderation to
 ' all parties in it; and long seen, and foreseen, the
 ' consequences of the want of it: I would yet heartily
 ' wish it might take place, and PERSUASION that of
 ' PERSECUTION, that we might not grow BARBAROUS
 ' for

‘ for CHRISTIANITY, nor abuse and undo one another
‘ for GOD’S SAKE.

‘ These have been, these are, and with God’s strength,
‘ shall be, through all the crooked and uneven paths
‘ of time, the principles and practice of

‘ Your ancient and constant friend,

‘ Worminghurst-place, the last of the
‘ second month, called April, 1683.’

‘ WILLIAM PENN.’

POSTSCRIPT.

‘ If this will not serve and satisfy the mistaken, (for
‘ the malicious, I fear, are past cure) let them but
‘ prove the report upon any body, and I will yet,
‘ as late as it looks in the day for such work, effec-
‘ tually convince them with the judgment of the
‘ law, that ought to be every honest man’s shield.’

‘ W. P.’

But yet the mistaken notions entertained by the common people of his being a papist, or at least holding a correspondence with Jesuits at Rome, began to enter the minds of some of better judgment; and among others his acquaintance Dr. Tillotson (afterward archbishop of Canterbury) having let in a suspicion of him, dropt some expressions, which were improved to his disadvantage: William Penn being informed of this, wrote a letter to the doctor on that subject, which was followed by several others that passed between them, until at last the doctor declared himself fully satisfied that his suspicion was groundless: and that our reader may not miss of as full satisfaction in this case, a copy of those letters here follows, viz.

‘ W. PENN

‘ W. PENN to Dr. TILLOTSON.’

‘ WORTHY FRIEND,

‘ **B** EING often told that Dr. Tillotson should
 ‘ suspect me, and so report me, a papist, (I
 ‘ think a Jesuit) and being closely pressed, I take the
 ‘ liberty to ask thee, if any such reflection fell from
 ‘ thee? If it did, I am sorry one I esteemed ever the
 ‘ first of his robe, should so undeservedly stain me,
 ‘ for so I call it; and if the story be false, I am sorry
 ‘ they should abuse Dr. Tillotson, as well as myself,
 ‘ without a cause. I add no more, but that I abhor
 ‘ two principles in religion, and pity them that own
 ‘ them. The first is, obedience upon authority with-
 ‘ out conviction; and the other, destroying them that
 ‘ differ from me for God’s sake. Such a religion is
 ‘ without judgment, though not without teeth: union
 ‘ is best, if right; else charity: and, as Hooker said,
 “ The time will come, when a few words spoken with
 “ meekness, and humility and love, shall be more
 “ acceptable than volumes of controversies;” ‘ which
 ‘ commonly destroy charity, the very best part of
 ‘ the true religion: I mean not a charity that can
 ‘ CHANGE with all, but BEAR all, as I can Dr. Tillot-
 ‘ son in what he dissents from me, and in this reflec-
 ‘ tion too, if said, which is not yet believed by

‘ Thy Christian true friend,

‘ Charing-Cross, 22d of the
 ‘ 11th month, 1685-6.’

‘ W. PENN.’

Dr. TILLOTSON to W. PENN.

‘ HONOURED SIR,

‘ Jan. 26, 1685.*

‘ **T** HE demand of your letter is very just and
 ‘ reasonable, and the manner of it very kind;
 ‘ therefore in answer to it, be pleased to take the fol-
 ‘ lowing

* O. S.

' lowing account. The last time you did me the fa-
 ' vour to see me at my house, I did, according to the
 ' freedom I always use, where I profess any friendship,
 ' acquaint you with something I had heard of a cor-
 ' respondence you held with some at Rome, and par-
 ' ticularly with some of the Jesuits there; at which
 ' you seemed a little surprized; and after some general
 ' discourse about it, you said you would call on me
 ' some other time, and speak farther of it: since that
 ' time I never saw you, but by accident and in pas-
 ' sage, where, I thought, you always declined me,
 ' particularly at Sir William Jones's chamber, which
 ' was the last time, I think, I saw you; upon which
 ' occasion I took notice to him of your strangeness to
 ' me, and told him what I thought might be the rea-
 ' son of it, and that I was sorry for it, because I had
 ' a particular esteem of your parts and temper. The
 ' same, I believe, I have said to some others, but to
 ' whom I do not so particularly remember. Since
 ' your going to Pennsylvania, I never thought more
 ' of it; till lately being in some company, one of
 ' them pressed me to declare, whether I had not heard
 ' something of you, which had satisfied me that you
 ' were a papist? I answered, No, by no means. I
 ' told him what I had heard, and what I said to you,
 ' and of the strangeness that ensued upon it; but that
 ' this never went farther with me, than to make
 ' me suspect there was more in that report which I
 ' had heard, than I was at first willing to believe; and
 ' that if any made more of it, I should look upon them
 ' as very injurious both to Mr. Penn and myself.

' This is the truth of that matter; and whenever
 ' you will please to satisfy me that my suspicion of the
 ' truth of that report I had heard was groundless, I
 ' will heartily beg your pardon for it. I do fully con-
 ' cur with you in the abhorrence of the two principles
 ' you mention, and in your approbation of that ex-
 ' cellent saying of Mr. Hooker's, for which I shall
 ' ever highly esteem him. I have endeavoured to
 ' make it one of the governing principles of my life,
 ' never

' never to abate any thing of humanity or charity to
 ' any man for his difference from me in opinion, and
 ' particularly to those of your persuasion, as several of
 ' them have had experience. I have been ready upon
 ' all occasions to do all offices of kindness, being truly
 ' sorry to see them so hardly used; and though I
 ' thought them MISTAKEN, yet in the main I believed
 ' them to be very HONEST. I thank you for your let-
 ' ter, and have a just esteem of the Christian temper
 ' of it, and rest,

' Your faithful friend,

' JO. TILLOTSON.'

W. PENN to Dr. TILLOTSON.

' WORTHY FRIEND,

' **H**AVING a much less opinion of my own me-
 ' mory, than of Dr. Tillotson's truth, I will
 ' allow the fact, though not the jealousy: for besides
 ' that I cannot look strange where I am well used, I
 ' have ever treated the name of Dr. Tillotson with
 ' another regard. I might be grave, and full of my
 ' own business; I was also then disappointed by the
 ' doctor's; but my nature is not harsh, my education
 ' less, and my principle least of all. It was the opi-
 ' nion I have had of the doctor's moderation, simpli-
 ' city, and integrity, rather than his parts, or post;
 ' that always made me set a value upon his friendship,
 ' of which, perhaps, I am better judge; leaving the
 ' latter to men of deeper talents. I blame him no-
 ' thing, but leave it to his better thoughts, if, in my
 ' affair, his jealousy was not too nimble for his cha-
 ' rity. If he can believe me, I should hardly prevail
 ' with myself to endure the same thought of Dr. Til-
 ' lotson on the like occasion, and less to speak of it.
 ' For the Roman correspondence I will freely come to
 ' confession: I have not only no such thing with any
 ' Jesuit at ROME (though Protestants MAY have, with-
 ' out

out offence) but I hold none with ANY Jesuit, priest,
 or regular in the world of that communion. And
 that the doctor may see what a novice I am in that
 business, I know not one ANY-WHERE. And yet,
 when all this is said, I am a CATHOLICK, though
 not a ROMAN. I have bowels for mankind, and
 dare not deny others what I crave for myself, I mean
 liberty for the exercise of my religion; thinking
 faith, piety, and providence a better security than
 force; and that if truth cannot prevail with her own
 weapons, all others will fail her.

Now, though I am not *obliged* to this defence,
 and that it can be no temporizing now to make it;
 yet that Dr. Tillotson may see how much I value his
 good opinion, and dare own the truth and myself at
 all turns, let him be confident I am no Roman Ca-
 tholick, but a Christian, whose creed is the scrip-
 ture; of the truth of which I hold a NOBLER evi-
 dence, then the best CHURCH AUTHORITY in the
 world; and yet I refuse not to believe the *porter*,
 though I cannot leave the sense to his discretion;
 and when I should, if he offends against those plain
 methods of understanding God hath made us to know
 things by, and which are inseparable from us, I must
 beg his pardon; as I do the doctor's for this length,
 upon the assurance he has given me of his doing the
 like upon better information; which that he may
 fully have, I recommend him to my "Address to
 Protestants," from pag. 133. to the end, and to
 the first four chapters of my "No Cross, No Crown;"
 to say nothing of our most inceremonious and un-
 worldly way of worship, and THEIR pompous cult;
 where at this time I shall leave the business, with all
 due and sensible acknowledgments to thy friendly
 temper, and assurance of the sincere wishes and re-
 spects of

Thy affectionate real friend,

Charing-Cross, the 29th of
 the 11th month, 1686.

W. PENN.

W. PENN

W. PENN to Dr. TILLOTSON.

‘ Charing-cross, 27th of 2d month, 1686.

‘ WORTHY FRIEND,

‘ **T**HIS should have been a visit; but being of
 ‘ opinion that Dr. Tillotson is yet a debtor
 ‘ to me this way, I chose to provoke him to another
 ‘ letter by this, before I made him one: for though
 ‘ he was very just and obliging when I last saw him,
 ‘ yet certainly no expression, however kindly spoken,
 ‘ will so easily and effectually purge me from the un-
 ‘ just imputation some people cast upon me in his
 ‘ name, as his LETTER will do. The need of this he
 ‘ will better see when he has read the enclosed; which
 ‘ coming to hand since my last, is, I presume, enough
 ‘ to justify this address, if I had no former preten-
 ‘ sions: and therefore I cannot be so wanting to my-
 ‘ self, as not to press him to a LETTER in my just
 ‘ defence; nor so uncharitable to him, as to think he
 ‘ should not frankly write what he has said, when it is
 ‘ to right a man’s reputation, and disabuse the too
 ‘ credulous world. For to me it seems from a private
 ‘ friendship, to become a moral duty to the publick;
 ‘ which, with a person of so great morality, must give
 ‘ success to the reasonable desire of

‘ Thy very real friend,

‘ WILLIAM PENN.’

Dr. TILLOTSON to W. PENN.

‘ S I R,

‘ April the 29th, 1686.

‘ **I** AM very sorry that the suspicion which I had
 ‘ entertained concerning you, of which I gave
 ‘ you the true account in my former letter, hath occa-
 ‘ sioned so much trouble and inconvenience to you:
 ‘ and I now declare, with great joy, that I am fully
 ‘ satisfied

‘ satisfied that there was no just ground for that sus-
 ‘ picion, and therefore I do heartily beg your pardon
 ‘ for it. And ever since you were pleased to give me
 ‘ that satisfaction, I have taken all occasions to vin-
 ‘ dicate you in this matter; and shall be ready to do
 ‘ it to the person that sent you the inclosed, whenever
 ‘ he will please to come to me. I am very much in
 ‘ the country, but will seek the first opportunity to
 ‘ visit you at Charing-cross, and renew our acquaint-
 ‘ ance, in which I took great pleasure. I rest,

‘ Your faithful friend,

‘ JO. TILLOTSON.’

In this year¹ he published “A farther Account of
 “the Province of Pennsylvania;” and about this time
 the duke of Buckingham having writ a book in favour
 of liberty of conscience, for which he was always a
 known advocate, a nameless author put forth an answer,
 reflecting not only on the duke himself, but also on
 W. P. saying ‘The Pennsylvanian had entered him,
 (i. e. the duke) with his Quakeristical doctrine.’ W. P.
 gave that answerer a reply, entitled, “A Defence of
 ‘the Duke of Buckingham’s Book of Religion and
 “Worship,” &c. a small piece; in the conclusion of
 which, he refers to another excellent and larger dis-
 course, soon after published by himself, entitled, “A
 “Persuasive to Moderation to Dissenting Christians,
 “in Prudence and Conscience, humbly submitted to
 “the King and his great Council:” in which he con-
 futes the several pleas for persecution, and confirms his
 own arguments for a toleration, by the testimonies of
 authors, and the examples of flourishing kingdoms
 and states, and shews the dismal effects and consequen-
 ces of the contrary: a treatise well worthy the reader’s
 serious perusal.

How far this book, and other solicitations of its au-
 thor, did influence the king and council, we deter-

¹ 1686.

mine not, but shortly after, viz. on the 14th of the month called March, 1685-6, came forth the king's proclamation for a general pardon; and instructions being given to the judges of assize, in their several circuits, to extend the benefit of it to the Quakers, about thirteen hundred of that people, most of whom had been divers years imprisoned, were set at liberty. Joyful, no doubt, to their distressed families, as well as beneficial to the country, was the restoring so many industrious people to their own homes, and lawful employments; and, whatever private views some in authority may be supposed to have had in granting that general amnesty, it was certainly the duty of the afflicted to receive the present favour with a becoming gratitude.

On the 4th of the month called April, 1687, came forth the 'King's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, suspending the Execution of all Penal Laws, in Matters Ecclesiastical;' by which, (though probably done in favour of the Papists) Dissenters received a general ease, and enjoyed their meetings peaceably. The people called Quakers, having smarted by those laws more than others, could not be less sensible of the present relief; wherefore at their next annual assembly held at London, in the third month this year, they drew up an "Address of Thanks to the King," deputing W. P. and others to present the same: his speech at the presenting of it, with the address itself, and the king's answer, were as follows:

W. PENN'S Speech to the KING, upon his delivering
the QUAKERS Address.

' May it please the KING,

' **I**T was the saying of our Blessed Lord to the cap-
' tious Jews in the case of tribute, "Render to
' Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to GOD the
' things that are GOD's." ' As this distinction ought
' to be observed by all men in the conduct of their
' lives,

lives, so the king has given us an illustrious example in his own person that excites us to it: for while he was a SUBJECT, he gave Cæsar his tribute, and now he is a CÆSAR, he gives GOD his due, viz. "the sovereignty over consciences." It were a great shame, then, for any Englishman (that professes Christianity) not to give God his due. By this grace he has relieved his distressed subjects from their cruel sufferings, and raised to himself a new and lasting empire, by adding their affections to their duty: and we pray God to continue the king in this noble resolution; for he is now upon a principle that has good-nature, Christianity, and the good of civil society on its side; a security to him beyond the little arts of government.

I would not that any should think, that we came hither with design to fill the Gazette with our thanks; but as our sufferings would have moved stones to compassion, so we should be HARDER, if we were not moved to GRATITUDE.

Now since the king's mercy and goodness have reached to us throughout the kingdom of England, and principality of Wales, our general assembly from all those parts, met at London about our church affairs, has appointed us to wait upon the king with our humble thanks, and me to deliver them; which I do, by this ADDRESS, with all the affection and respect of a dutiful subject.

The ADDRESS.

To King JAMES the Second, over ENGLAND, &c.

The Humble and Grateful Acknowledgment of his Peaceable Subjects called QUAKERS, in this Kingdom.

From their usual YEARLY-MEETING in LONDON, the Nineteenth Day of the Third Month, vulgarly called May, 1687.

WE cannot but bless and praise the name of Almighty God, who hath the hearts of
G 2
princes

C THE AUTHOR'S LIFE.

‘ princes in his hand, that he hath inclined the king
‘ to hear the cries of his suffering subjects for con-
‘ science sake: and we rejoyce that instead of troubling
‘ him with complaints of our sufferings, he hath given
‘ us so eminent an occasion to present him with our
‘ thanks: and since it hath pleased the king, out of
‘ his great compassion, thus to commiserate our af-
‘ flicted condition, which hath so particularly appeared
‘ by his gracious proclamation, and warrants last year,
‘ whereby twelve hundred prisoners were released from
‘ their severe imprisonments, and many others from
‘ spoil and ruin in their estates and properties; and
‘ his princely speech in council, and Christian decla-
‘ ration for liberty of conscience, in which he doth
‘ not only express his aversion to all force upon con-
‘ science, and grant all his dissenting subjects an am-
‘ ple liberty to worship God, in the way they are per-
‘ suaded is most agreeable to his will, but gives them
‘ his kingly word the same shall CONTINUE during his
‘ reign; we do (as our friends of this city have al-
‘ ready done) render the king our humble, Christian,
‘ and thankful acknowledgments, not only in behalf
‘ of ourselves, but with respect to our friends through-
‘ out England and Wales: and pray God, with all
‘ our hearts, to bless and preserve thee, O king, and
‘ those under thee, in so good a work: and as we can
‘ assure the king it is well accepted in the several
‘ counties from whence we came, so we hope the good
‘ effects thereof, for the peace, trade, and prosperity
‘ of the kingdom, will produce such a concurrence
‘ from the parliament, as may secure it to our poste-
‘ rity in after-times: and while we live, it shall be
‘ our endeavour (through God’s grace) to demean
‘ ourselves, as, in conscience to God, and duty to the
‘ King, we are obliged,

‘ His Peceable, Loving, and Faithful Subjects.’

The KING'S Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I Thank you heartily for your address: some of you know (I am sure you do, Mr. Penn) that it was always my principle, "That conscience ought not to be FORCED; and that all men ought to have the LIBERTY of their consciences:" and what I have promised in my declaration, I will continue to perform as long as I live: and I hope, before I die, to settle it so, that after-ages shall have no reason to alter it.'

Some have objected against the Quakers, and other dissenters, for addressing King James upon the afore-said declaration of indulgence, as though they had thereby countenanced the king's dispensing with the laws in general: let such observe their imputation, as to our author, and his friends the Quakers, sufficiently guarded against in that part of their address where they say, 'We hope the good effects thereof, for the peace, trade, and prosperity of the kingdom, may produce such a concurrence from the parliament, as will secure it to our posterity.' It is plain, therefore, they gratefully accepted of the suspension of the penal laws, by the king's prerogative, (as who, in their case, would not?) a thing in itself just and reasonable, in hopes of having the same afterward confirmed by the legislative authority; there being at that time much talk of an approaching parliament: and that their expectation centered not in the king's dispensing power, is evident, by our author's continuing his endeavours to shew the necessity of *abolishing* the PENAL LAWS; for soon after this he writ a large tract, called, "Good Advice to the Church of England, Roman Catholics, and Protestant Dissenters;" in which he shews the disannulling of those laws to be their general interest,

He wrote also, presently after this, a book entitled, "The Great and Popular Objection against the Repeal of the Penal Laws, briefly stated and considered."

On the 27th of the month called April, 1688, King James renewed his declaration for liberty of conscience, with an order of council for the reading of it in churches; against which seven bishops petitioning, were committed to the Tower.

Our author labouring at this time under many jealousies and reflections as a countenancer of the court proceedings, a particular friend of his, William Popple, secretary to the plantation-office, sent him the following letter.

' To the Honourable WILLIAM PENN, Esq; Proprietor
' and Governor of Pennsylvania.

' HONOURED SIR,

' **T**HOUGH the friendship with which you are
' pleased to honour me, doth afford me sufficient opportunities of discoursing with you upon any
' subject, yet I chuse rather at this time to offer unto
' you in writing, some reflections which have occurred
' to my thoughts, in a matter of no common importance. The importance of it doth, primarily and
' directly, respect yourself, and your own private concerns; but it also, consequentially and effectually, regards the king, his government, and even
' the peace and settlement of this whole nation. I
' intreat you, therefore, to bear with me, if I endeavour in this manner to give somewhat more weight
' unto my words than would be in a transient discourse, and leave them with you, as a subject that requires
' your retired consideration.

' You are not ignorant that the part you have been
' supposed to have had of late years in publick affairs, though without either the title, or honour, or profit of any publick office, and that especially your
' avowed endeavours to introduce amongst us a general
' ral

' ral and inviolable liberty of conscience in matters of
 ' mere religion, have occasioned the mistakes of some
 ' men, provoked the malice of others, and, in the
 ' end, have raised against you a multitude of enemies,
 ' who have unworthily defamed you with such impu-
 ' tations, as, I am sure, you abhor. This I know
 ' you have been sufficiently informed of, though I
 ' doubt you have not made sufficient reflection upon
 ' it: the consciousness of your own innocence seems
 ' to me to have given you too great a contempt of
 ' such unjust and ill-grounded slanders: for however
 ' glorious it is, and reasonable, for a truly virtuous
 ' mind, whose inward peace is founded upon that rock
 ' of innocence, to despise the empty noise of popular
 ' reproach, yet even that sublimity of spirit may
 ' sometimes swell to a reproveable excess. To be
 ' steady and immoveable in the prosecution of wise
 ' and honest resolutions, by all honest and prudent
 ' means, is indeed a duty that admits of no excep-
 ' tion: but nevertheless it ought not to hinder, that,
 ' at the same time, there be also a due care taken of
 ' preserving a fair reputation. "A good name," says
 ' the wise man, "is better than precious ointment."
 ' It is a perfume that recommends the person whom
 ' it accompanies, that procures him every-where an
 ' easy acceptance, and that facilitates the success of
 ' all his enterprizes: and for that reason, though there
 ' were no other, I intreat you observe, that "The
 ' care of a man's reputation is an essential part of
 ' that very same duty that engages him in the pursuit
 ' of any worthy design."

' But I must not entertain you with a declamation
 ' upon this general theme. My business is to repre-
 ' sent to you, more particularly, those very imputa-
 ' tions which are cast upon yourself, together with
 ' some of their evident consequences; that, if possi-
 ' ble, I may thereby move you to labour after a re-
 ' medy. The source of all arises from the ordinary
 ' access you have unto the king, the credit you are
 ' supposed to have with him, and the deep jealousy

' that some people have conceived of his intentions
 ' in reference to religion. Their jealousy is, that his
 ' aim has been to settle POPERY in this nation, not
 ' only in a fair and secure liberty, but even in a pre-
 ' dominating superiority over all other professions:
 ' and from hence the inference follows, that whosoever
 ' has any part in the councils of this reign, must needs
 ' be popishly affected: but that to have so great a
 ' part in them, as you are said to have had, can hap-
 ' pen to none but an *absolute papist*. That is the di-
 ' rect charge; but that is not enough, your post is
 ' too considerable for a Papist of an ordinary form,
 ' and therefore you must be a *Jesuit*: nay, to confirm
 ' that suggestion, it must be accompanied with all
 ' the circumstances that may best give it an air of
 ' probability; as that you have been bred at St.
 ' OMER's, in the Jesuit's college; that you have taken
 ' *orders* at Rome, and there obtained a dispensation to
 ' marry; and that you have since that frequently offi-
 ' ciated as a *priest*, in the celebration of the *mass* at
 ' Whitehall, St. James's, and other places. And this
 ' being admitted, nothing can be too black to be cast
 ' upon you. Whatsoever is thought amiss either in
 ' church or state, though never so contrary to your
 ' advice, is boldly attributed to it, and if other proofs
 ' fail, the scripture itself must be brought in to con-
 ' firm, "That whosoever offends in one point" " (in a
 ' point especially so essential as that of our too much
 ' affected uniformity) " is guilty of the breach of all
 ' " our laws." " Thus the charge of *popery* draws after
 ' it a tail like the *et cetera* oath, and, by endless in-
 ' uendoes, prejudicates you as guilty of whatever ma-
 ' lice can invent, or folly believe: but that charge
 ' therefore being removed, the inferences that are
 ' drawn from it will vanish, and your reputation will
 ' return to its former brightness.

' Now that I may the more effectually persuade you
 ' to apply some remedy to this disease, I beseech you,
 ' Sir, suffer me to lay before you some of its pernicious
 ' consequences. It is not a trifling matter for a
 ' person

‘ person raised, as you are, above the common level,
‘ to lie under the prejudice of so general a mistake,
‘ in so important a matter. The general and the long
‘ prevalency of any opinion gives it a strength, espe-
‘ cially among the vulgar, that is not easily shaken.
‘ And as it happens that you have also enemies of an
‘ higher rank, who will be ready to improve such po-
‘ pular mistakes, by all sorts of malicious artifices, it
‘ must be taken for granted that those errors will be
‘ thereby still more confirmed, and the inconveniences
‘ that may arise from thence no less increased. This,
‘ Sir, I assure you, is a melancholy prospect to your
‘ friends; for we know you have such enemies. The
‘ design of so universal a liberty of conscience as your
‘ principles have led you to promote, has offended
‘ many of those whose interest is to cross it: I need
‘ not tell you how many and how powerful they are:
‘ nor can I tell you either how far, or by what ways
‘ and means, they may endeavour to execute their
‘ revenge. But this, however, I must needs tell you,
‘ that in your present circumstances, there is sufficient
‘ ground for so much jealousy, at least, as ought to
‘ excite you to use the precaution of some publick vin-
‘ dication. This the tenderness of friendship prompts
‘ your friends to desire of you; and this the just sense
‘ of your honour, which true religion does not ex-
‘ tinguish, requires you to execute.

‘ Pardon, I intreat you, Sir, the earnestness of these
‘ expressions; nay, suffer me, without offence, to ex-
‘ postulate with you yet a little farther. I am fear-
‘ ful lest these personal considerations should not have
‘ their due weight with you, and therefore I cannot
‘ omit to reflect also upon some more general conse-
‘ quences of your particular reproach. I have said it
‘ already, that the king, his honour, his government,
‘ and even the peace and settlement of this whole na-
‘ tion, either are, or have been, concerned in this
‘ matter: your reputation, as you are said to have
‘ meddled in publick affairs, has been of publick
‘ concernment. The promoting a general liberty of
‘ con-

' conscience having been your particular province; the
 ' aspersions of popery and jesuitism, that has been cast
 ' upon *you*, has reflected upon his MAJESTY, for hav-
 ' ing made use, in that affair, of so disguised a per-
 ' sonage as you are supposed to have been. It has
 ' weakened the force of all your endeavours, obstructed
 ' their effect, and contributed greatly to disappoint
 ' this poor nation of that inestimable happiness, and
 ' secure establishment, which I am persuaded you de-
 ' signed, and which all good and wise men agree, that
 ' a just and inviolable liberty of conscience would
 ' infallibly produce. I heartily wish this consideration
 ' had been sooner laid to heart, and that some de-
 ' monstrative evidence of your sincerity in the pro-
 ' fession you make, had accompanied all your endea-
 ' vours for liberty.

' But what do I say, or what do I wish for? I con-
 ' fess that I am now struck with astonishment at that
 ' abundant evidence which I know you have constantly
 ' given, of the opposition of your principles to those
 ' of the Romish church, and at the little regard there
 ' has been had to it. If an open profession of the
 ' *directest* opposition against Popery, that has ever ap-
 ' peared in the world, since *Popery* was first distin-
 ' guished from *common Christianity*, would serve the
 ' turn, this cannot be denied to all those of that so-
 ' CIETY, with which you are joined in the duties of
 ' religious worship. If to have maintained the prin-
 ' ciples of that society, by frequent and fervent dis-
 ' courses, by many elaborate writings, by suffering
 ' ignominy, imprisonment, and other manifold disad-
 ' vantages in defence thereof, can be admitted as any
 ' proof of your sincere adherence thereunto; this, it
 ' is evident to the world, you have done already: nay
 ' farther, if to have enquired as far as was possible for
 ' you, into the particular stories that have been framed
 ' against you, and to have sought all means of recti-
 ' fying the mistakes upon which they were grounded,
 ' could in any measure avail to the settling a true cha-
 ' racter of you in mens judgments; this also I know
 ' you

‘ you have done. For I have seen under the hand of
‘ a * reverend dean of our English church, a full
‘ acknowledgment of satisfaction received from you,
‘ in a suspicion he had entertained upon one of those
‘ stories, and to which his report had procured too
‘ great credit. And though I know you are averse to
‘ the publishing of his letter without his express leave,
‘ and perhaps may not now think fit to ask it; yet I
‘ am so thoroughly assured of his sincerity and can-
‘ dour, that I cannot doubt but he has already vindi-
‘ cated you in that matter, and will (according to
‘ his promise) be still ready to do it upon all occa-
‘ sions. Nay I have seen also your justification from
‘ another calumny of common fame, about your hav-
‘ ing kidnapped one who had formerly been a MONK,
‘ out of your American province, to deliver him here
‘ into the hands of his enemies; I say, I have seen
‘ your justification from that story under that person’s
‘ own hand: and his return to Pennsylvania, where he
‘ now resides, may be an irrefragable confutation of
‘ it, to any that will take the pains to enquire there-
‘ into.

‘ Really it afflicts me very much to consider that all
‘ this does not suffice. If I had not that particular
‘ respect for you which I sincerely profess; yet I could
‘ not but be much affected, that any man who had so
‘ deservedly acquired so fair a reputation as you have
‘ formerly had, whose integrity and veracity had al-
‘ ways been reputed spotless, and whose charity had
‘ been continually exercised in serving others, at the
‘ dear expence of his time, his strength, and his es-
‘ tate, without any other recompence than what results
‘ from the consciousness of doing good; I say, I could
‘ not but be much affected, to see any such person
‘ fall innocently and undeservedly under such unjust
‘ reproaches as you have done. It is an hard case;
‘ and I think no man, that has any bowels of hu-
‘ manity, can reflect upon it, without great relent-
‘ ings,

• Dr. Tillotson.

‘ Since

‘ Since therefore it is so, and that something re-
 ‘ mains yet to be done, something more exprefs, and
 ‘ especially more publick, than has yet been done for
 ‘ your vindication, I beg of you, dear Sir, by all the
 ‘ tender efficacy that friendship, either mine, or that
 ‘ of your friends and relations together, can have up-
 ‘ on you; by the due regard which humanity, and
 ‘ even Christianity, obliges you to have to your repu-
 ‘ tation; by the duty you owe unto the king; by
 ‘ your love to the land of your nativity; and by the
 ‘ cause of universal religion and eternal truth; let not
 ‘ the scandal of insincerity, that I have hinted at, lie
 ‘ any longer upon you; but let the sense of all these
 ‘ obligations persuade you to gratify your friends and
 ‘ relations, and to serve your king, your country, and
 ‘ your religion, by such a publick vindication of your
 ‘ honour, as your own prudence, upon these sugges-
 ‘ tions, will now shew you to be most necessary, and
 ‘ most expedient. I am, with unfeigned and most re-
 ‘ spectful affection,

‘ Honoured Sir,

‘ Your most humble, and

‘ London, October the
 ‘ 20th, 1688.’

‘ most obedient Servant.

W. PENN’S Answer to the foregoing Letter.

‘ WORTHY FRIEND,

‘ **I** T is now above twenty years, I thank God, that
 ‘ I have not been very solicitous what the world
 ‘ thought of me. For since I had the knowledge of
 ‘ religion from a PRINCIPLE IN MYSELF, the first and
 ‘ main point with me has been, to approve myself in
 ‘ the sight of God, through patience and well-doing:
 ‘ so that the world has not had weight enough with
 ‘ me, to suffer its *good* opinion to raise me, or its *ill*
 ‘ opinion to deject me. And if THAT had been the
 ‘ only motive or consideration, and not the desire of
 ‘ a good friend, in the name of many others, I had
 ‘ been

‘ been as silent to thy letter, as I use to be to the idle
 ‘ and malicious shams of the times : but as the laws
 ‘ of friendship are sacred, with those that value that
 ‘ relation, so I confess this to be a principal one with
 ‘ me, not to deny a friend the satisfaction he desires,
 ‘ when it may be done without offence to a good con-
 ‘ science.

‘ The business chiefly insisted upon, is my *POPERY*,
 ‘ and endeavours to promote it. I do say then, and
 ‘ that with all sincerity, that I am not only no *Jesuit*,
 ‘ but no *PAPIST*. And, which is more, I never had
 ‘ any temptation upon me to be it, either from doubts
 ‘ in my own mind about the way I profess, or from
 ‘ the discourses or writings of any of that religion.
 ‘ And, in the presence of Almighty God, I do de-
 ‘ clare, that the king did never once, directly or in-
 ‘ directly, attack me, or tempt me, upon that sub-
 ‘ ject, the many years that I have had the advantage
 ‘ of a free access to him; so unjust, as well as fordidly
 ‘ false, are all those stories of the town.

‘ The only reason, that I can apprehend, they have
 ‘ to repute me a Roman Catholick, is, my frequent
 ‘ going to *WHITEHALL*, a place no more forbid to
 ‘ me than to the rest of the world, who, it seems, find
 ‘ much fairer quarter. I have almost continually had
 ‘ one business or other there for our friends, whom I
 ‘ ever served with a steady sollicitation, through all
 ‘ times, since I was of their communion. I had also a
 ‘ great many personal good offices to do, upon a prin-
 ‘ ciple of charity, for people of all persuasions, think-
 ‘ ing it a duty to improve the little interest I had for
 ‘ the good of those that needed it, especially the
 ‘ poor. I might add something of my own affairs
 ‘ too; though I must own (if I may without vanity)
 ‘ that they have ever had the least share of my thoughts
 ‘ or pains, or else they would not have still depended
 ‘ as they yet do.

‘ But because some people are so unjust, as to ren-
 ‘ der instances for my Popery, (or rather hypocrisy,
 ‘ for so it would be in me) it is fit I contradict them

‘ as

' as particularly as they accuse me. I say then so-
 ' lemnly, that I am so far from having been bred at
 ' St. OMER's, and having received orders at ROME,
 ' that I never was at either place, nor do I know any
 ' body there; nor had I ever a correspondency with
 ' any body in those places; which is another story in-
 ' vented against me. And as for my officiating in the
 ' king's chapel, or any other, it is so ridiculous, as
 ' well as untrue, that besides that nobody can do it
 ' but a *priest*, and that I have been married to a wo-
 ' man of some condition above sixteen years, which
 ' no *priest* can be, by any dispensation whatever; I
 ' have not so much as looked into *any* chapel of the
 ' Roman religion, and consequently not the *king's*,
 ' though a common curiosity warrants it daily to peo-
 ' ple of all persuasions.

' And once for all, I do say, that I am a *Protestant*
 ' *Dissenter*, and to that degree such, that I challenge
 ' the most celebrated Protestant of the English church,
 ' or any other, on that head, be he layman or clergy-
 ' man, in publick or in private. For I would have
 ' such people know, it is not impossible for a *true*
 ' *Protestant Dissenter* to be dutiful, thankful, and ser-
 ' viceable to the KING, though he be of the *Roman*
 ' *Catholick Communion*. We hold not our property or
 ' protection from him by our persuasion; and therefore
 ' his persuasion should not be the measure of our al-
 ' legiance. I am sorry to see so many that seem fond
 ' of the reformed religion, by their disaffection to him
 ' recommend it so ill. Whatever practices of Roman
 ' Catholicks we might reasonably object against, (and
 ' no doubt but such there are) yet he has disclaimed
 ' and reprehended those ill things by his declared
 ' opinion against PERSECUTION, by the ease in which
 ' he actually indulges all Dissenters; and by the con-
 ' firmation he offers in parliament, for the security of
 ' the Protestant religion and liberty of conscience.
 ' And in his honour, as well as in my own defence, I
 ' am obliged in conscience to say, that he has ever
 ' declared to me, *it was his opinion*; and on all occa-
 ' sions,

‘ fions, when duke, he never refused me the repeated
 ‘ proofs of it, as often as I had any poor sufferers for
 ‘ conscience-sake to solicit his help for.

‘ But some may be apt to say, “ Why not any body
 “ else as well as I? Why must I have the preferable
 “ access to other Dissenters, if not a PAPIST?” ‘ I
 ‘ answer, I know not that it is so. But this I know,
 ‘ that I have made it my province and business; I
 ‘ have followed and pressed it; I took it for my cal-
 ‘ ling and station, and have kept it above these sixteen
 ‘ years; and, which is more, (if I may say it without
 ‘ vanity or reproach) wholly at my own CHARGES too.
 ‘ To this let me add the relation my father had to this
 ‘ king’s service, his particular favour in getting me
 ‘ released out of the Tower of London in 1669, my
 ‘ father’s humble request to him, upon his death-bed,
 ‘ to protect me from the inconveniences and troubles
 ‘ my persuasion might expose me to, and his friendly
 ‘ promise to do it, and exact performance of it, from
 ‘ the moment I addressed myself to him: I say, when
 ‘ all this is considered, any body, that has the least
 ‘ pretence to good-nature, gratitude, or generosity,
 ‘ must needs know how to interpret my access to the
 ‘ king. Perhaps some will be ready to say, “ This is
 “ not all, nor is this yet a fault, but that I have been
 “ an adviser in other matters disgustful to the king-
 “ dom, and which tend to the overthrow of the Pro-
 “ testant religion, and the liberties of the people.”
 ‘ A likely thing indeed, that a Protestant Dissenter,
 ‘ who from fifteen years old has been (at times) a suf-
 ‘ ferer in his father’s family, in the university, and by
 ‘ the government, for being so, should design the
 ‘ *destruction* of the Protestant religion. This is just as
 ‘ probable as it is true, that I died a *Jesuit* six years
 ‘ ago in *America*. Will men still suffer such stuff to
 ‘ pass upon them? Is any thing more foolish, as well
 ‘ as false, than that because I am often at WHITEHALL,
 ‘ therefore I must be the AUTHOR of all that is done
 ‘ there, that does not please abroad? But supposing
 ‘ some such things to have been done, pray tell me,
 ‘ if

' if I am bound to oppose any thing that I am not
 ' called to do? I never was a member of council, ca-
 ' binet, or committee, where the affairs of the king-
 ' dom are transacted. I have had no office, or trust,
 ' and consequently, nothing can be said to be done
 ' by me; nor, for that reason, could I lie under any
 ' test or obligation to discover my opinion of publick
 ' acts of state; and therefore neither can any such acts,
 ' nor my silence about them, in justice be made my
 ' crime. Volunteers are blanks and cyphers in all
 ' governments. And unless calling at Whitehall once
 ' a day, upon many occasions, or my not being turned
 ' out of nothing (for that no office is) be the evi-
 ' dence of my complying in disagreeable things, I
 ' know not what else can, with any truth, be alledged
 ' against me. However, one thing I know, that I
 ' have every where most religiously observed, and
 ' endeavoured in conversation with persons of all
 ' ranks and opinions, to allay heats, and moderate
 ' extremities, even in the politicks. It is below me
 ' to be more particular; but I am sure it has been my
 ' endeavour, that if we could not all meet upon a re-
 ' ligious bottom, at least we might upon a civil one,
 ' the good of England; which is the common interest
 ' of king and people: that he might be great by jus-
 ' tice, and we free by obedience; distinguishing
 ' rightly on the one hand, between duty and slavery;
 ' and on the other, between liberty and licentious-
 ' nefs.

' But, alas, I am not without my apprehensions of
 ' the cause of this behaviour towards me, and in this,
 ' I perceive we agree; I mean my constant zeal for an
 ' impartial liberty of conscience. But if that be it,
 ' the cause is too good to be in pain about. I ever
 ' understood that to be the natural right of all men;
 ' and that he that had a religion without it, his reli-
 ' gion was none of his own. For what is not the re-
 ' ligion of a man's *choice*, is the religion of him that
 ' *imposes* it: so that liberty of conscience is the first
 ' step to have a religion. This is no new opinion
 ' with

‘ with me. I have writ many apologies within the
‘ last twenty years to defend it, and that impartially.
‘ Yet I have as constantly declared, that bounds ought
‘ to be set to this freedom, and that morality was the
‘ BEST; and that as often as that was violated, under
‘ a pretence of conscience, it was fit the civil power
‘ should take place. Nor did I ever once think of pro-
‘ moting any sort of liberty of conscience for any body,
‘ which did not preserve the COMMON PROTESTANCY
‘ of the kingdom, and the ANCIENT RIGHTS of the
‘ government. For, to say truth, the one cannot be
‘ maintained without the other.

‘ Upon the whole matter, I must say, I love ENG-
‘ LAND; I ever did so; and that I am not in her debt.
‘ I never valued time, money, or kindred, to serve
‘ her and do her good. No party could ever bias me
‘ to her prejudice, nor any personal interest oblige me
‘ in her wrong. For I always abhorred discounting
‘ *private favours* at the *publick cost*.

‘ Would I have made my market of the fears and
‘ jealousies of the people, when this king came to the
‘ crown, I had put twenty thousand pounds into my
‘ pocket, and an hundred thousand into my province;
‘ for mighty numbers of people were then upon the
‘ wing: but I waved it all; hoped for better times;
‘ expected the effects of the king’s word for liberty
‘ of conscience, and happiness by it; and till I saw
‘ my friends, with the kingdom, delivered from the
‘ legal bondage which penal laws for religion had
‘ subjected them to, I could with no satisfaction think
‘ of leaving England; though much to my prejudice
‘ beyond sea, and at my great expence here; having,
‘ in all this time, never had either office or pension,
‘ and always refusing the rewards or gratuities of those
‘ I have been able to oblige.

‘ If therefore an *universal charity*, if the asserting
‘ an *impartial liberty of conscience*, if doing to *others*
‘ as one would be *done by*, and an open avowing and
‘ steady practising of these things, in all times, to all
‘ parties, will justly lay a man under the reflection of

' being a *Jesuit*, or a *Papist* of any rank, I must not
 ' only submit to the character, but embrace it too;
 ' and I care not who knows that I can wear it with
 ' more pleasure, than it is possible for them with any
 ' justice to give it me. For these are corner-stones
 ' and principles with me; and I am scandalized at all
 ' buildings that have them not for their foundations.
 ' For religion itself is an empty name *without* them, a
 ' whited wall, a painted sepulchre, no LIFE or VIRTUE
 ' to the soul; no good, or example, to one's neigh-
 ' bour. Let us not flatter ourselves. "We can ne-
 ' ver be the *better* for our religion, if our neighbour
 ' be the *worse* for it." ' Our fault is, we are apt to
 ' be mighty hot upon *speculative* errors, and break all
 ' bounds in our resentments; but we let practical ones
 ' pass without remark, if not without repentance: as
 ' if a mistake about an *obscure proposition* of FAITH
 ' were a greater evil, than the breach of an *undoubted*
 ' PRECEPT. Such a religion the devils themselves are
 ' not without; for they have both *faith* and *knowledge*;
 ' but their faith doth not work by love, nor their
 ' knowledge by obedience. And if this be their judg-
 ' ment, can it be our blessing? Let us not then think
 ' religion a litigious thing; nor that Christ came only
 ' to make us good disputants, but that he came also
 ' to make us good liver. Sincerity goes farther than
 ' capacity. It is CHARITY that deservedly excels in
 ' the Christian religion; and happy would it be, if
 ' where unity ends, charity did begin, instead of envy
 ' and railing, that almost ever follow. It appears to
 ' me to be the way that God has found out and ap-
 ' pointed to moderate our differences, and make them
 ' at least harmless to society; and therefore, I confess,
 ' I dare not aggravate them to wrath and blood. Our
 ' disagreement lies in our *apprehension* or *belief* of
 ' things; and if the common enemy of mankind had
 ' not the governing of our affections and passions,
 ' that disagreement would not prove such a canker,
 ' as it is, to love and peace, in civil societies.

‘ He

‘ He that suffers his difference with his neighbour
 ‘ about the other world to carry him beyond the line
 ‘ of moderation in this, is the *worse* for his OPINION,
 ‘ even though it be *true*. It is too little considered
 ‘ by Christians, that men may hold the truth in *un-*
 ‘ *righteousness*; that they may be *orthodox*, and not
 ‘ know what *spirit they are of*: so were the apostles of
 ‘ our Lord; they believed in him, yet let a false *zeal*
 ‘ do violence to their *judgment*, and their unwarranta-
 ‘ ble *heat* contradict the great end of their Saviour’s
 ‘ coming, LOVE.

‘ Men may be angry for God’s sake, and *kill* people
 ‘ too. CHRIST said it, and too many have practised
 ‘ it. But what sort of Christians must they be, I pray,
 ‘ that can *bate* in his name, who bids us *love*; and *kill*
 ‘ for his sake, that forbids *killing*, and commands *love*,
 ‘ even to *enemies*?

‘ Let not men or parties think to shift it off from
 ‘ themselves: it is not this *principle*, or that *form*, to
 ‘ which so great a defection is owing, but a degene-
 ‘ racy of mind from God. Christianity is not at *heart*:
 ‘ no fear of God in the inward parts: no awe of his
 ‘ Divine omnipresence. *Self* prevails, and breaks out,
 ‘ more or less, through all forms, but too plainly;
 ‘ (pride, wrath, lust, avarice) so that though people
 ‘ say to God, “*Thy will be done*,” ‘ they do their
 ‘ *own*; which shews them to be true heathens, under
 ‘ a mask of Christianity, that *believe* without *works*,
 ‘ and *repent* without *forsaking*; busy for *forms*, and the
 ‘ *temporal benefits* of them, while *true religion*, which
 ‘ is “to visit the fatherless, and the widow, and to
 ‘ “keep ourselves unspotted from the world,” ‘ goes
 ‘ barefoot, and, like Lazarus, is despised. Yet this
 ‘ was the definition the Holy Ghost gave of religion,
 ‘ before *synods* and *councils* had the meddling with it,
 ‘ and modeling of it. In those days, *bowels* were a
 ‘ good part of religion, and that to the fatherless and
 ‘ widow *at large*. We can hardly now extend them to
 ‘ those of our own *way*. It was said by him that
 ‘ could not say amiss, “Because iniquity abounds, the

“ love of many waxeth cold.” ‘ Whatsoever divides
 ‘ man’s heart from *God*, separates it from his *neighbour*;
 ‘ and he that loves *self* more than *God*, can never love
 ‘ his *neighbour* as himself. For, as the apostle said,
 “ If we do not love him, whom we have seen; how
 “ can we love God, whom we have not seen?”

‘ O that we could see some men as eager to turn
 ‘ people to God, as they are to blow them up, and
 ‘ set them one against another! But, indeed, those
 ‘ only can have that *pure* and *pious* zeal, who are
 ‘ themselves turned to God, and have tasted the sweet-
 ‘ nefs of that conversion, which is to *power*, not *form*;
 ‘ to *godliness*, not *gain*. Such as those do bend their
 ‘ thoughts and pains to appease, not increase, heats
 ‘ and animosities; to exhort people to look at home,
 ‘ sweep their own houses, and weed their own gardens.
 ‘ And in no age or time was there more need to set
 ‘ men at work in their own hearts, than this we live
 ‘ in, when so busy, wandering, licentious a spirit pre-
 ‘ vails. For, whatever some men may think, “ the dis-
 “ ease of this kingdom is *sin*; impiety against *God*, and
 “ want of *charity* to *men*.” ‘ And while this guilt is
 ‘ at our door, judgment cannot be far off.

‘ Now this being the disease, I will briefly offer
 ‘ two things for the cure of it:

‘ The first is, David’s *clean heart* and *right spirit*,
 ‘ which he asked, and had of God: without this, we
 ‘ must be a chaos still. For the distemper is *WITHIN*;
 ‘ and our Lord said, ALL EVIL comes from *THENCE*.
 ‘ Set the *inward* man *right*, and the *outward* man can-
 ‘ not be *wrong*: that is the helm that governs the
 ‘ human vessel: and this nothing can do but an *in-*
 ‘ *ward principle*, the *LIGHT* and *GRACE* that came by
 ‘ Christ, which, the scripture tells us, “ enlightens
 “ *every one*, and hath appeared to *all men*.” ‘ It is
 ‘ preposterous to think that he, who made the world,
 ‘ should shew least care of the best part of it, our
 ‘ *souls*. No, he that gave us an *outward* luminary for
 ‘ our *BODIES*, hath given us an *inward* one for our
 ‘ *minds* to act by. We have it; and it is our con-
 ‘ demnation

demnation that we do not love it, and bring our
 deeds to it. It is by this we see our sins, are made
 sensible of them, sorry for them, and finally forsake
 them. And he that thinks to go to heaven a *nearer*
 way, will, I fear, belate his soul, and be irreparably
 mistaken. There are but *goats* and *sheep* at last,
 whatever shapes we wear here. Let us not there-
 fore, dear friend, deceive ourselves. Our souls are
 at stake: "God will not be mocked: what we sow
 we must expect to reap. There is no repentance
 in the grave;" which shews, that if none there,
 then no-where else. To sum up this divinity of
 mine: it is the LIGHT of JESUS in our souls, that
 gives us a true *sight* of ourselves, and that sight that
 leads us to *repentance*; which repentance begets *hu-*
mility, and humility that true *charity*, that covers a
 multitude of faults; which I call GOD'S *expedient*
 against MAN'S *infirmity*.

The second remedy to our present distemper, is
 this: since all of all parties profess to believe in
 God, Christ, the Spirit, and scripture, that the soul
 is immortal, that there are eternal rewards and pu-
 nishments, and that the virtuous shall receive the
 one, and the wicked suffer the other; I say, since
 this is the common faith of Christendom, let us all
 resolve, in the strength of God, to live up to what
 we agree in, before we fall out so miserably about
 the rest in which we differ. I am persuaded, the
 change and comfort which that pious course would
 bring us to, would go very far to dispose our natures
 to compound easily for all the rest, and we might
 hope yet to see happy days in poor England; for
 there I would have so good a work begun. And
 how it is possible for the eminent men of every reli-
 gious persuasion (especially the present *ministers* of
 the *parishes* of *England*) to think of giving an ac-
 count to God at the last day, without using the ut-
 most of their endeavours to MODERATE the members
 of their respective communions toward those that
 DIFFER from them, is a mystery to me! But this I

‘ know, and must lay it at their doors, I charge also
 ‘ my own soul with it, “ God requires *moderation* and
 “ *humility* from us;” ‘ for he is at hand, who will not
 ‘ spare to judge our *impatience*, if we have no *patience*
 ‘ for one another. The eternal God rebuke (I be-
 ‘ seech him) the wrath of man, and humble all un-
 ‘ der the sense of the evil of this day; and yet (un-
 ‘ worthy as we are) give us *peace*, for his holy name’s
 ‘ sake!

‘ It is now time to end this letter, and I will do it
 ‘ without saying any more than this: thou seest my
 ‘ defence against popular calumny; thou seest what
 ‘ my thoughts are of our condition, and the way to
 ‘ better it; and thou seest my hearty and humble
 ‘ prayer to Almighty God, to incline us to be wise,
 ‘ if it were but for our own sakes. I shall only add,
 ‘ that I am extremely sensible of the kindness and jus-
 ‘ tice intended me by my friends on this occasion,
 ‘ and that I am, for that and many more reasons,

‘ Thy obliged and affectionate friend,

‘ Teddington, October
 ‘ the 24th, 1688.’

‘ WILLIAM PENN.’

On the fifth of November this year, William prince of Orange landed at Torbay in Devonshire, to the great joy of the English nation: many of king James’s officers and army soon joined the prince; and the king, perceiving the hearts of the people alienated from him, withdrew himself, and went over to France; and by a convention, called shortly after, the said prince of Orange and the princess Mary his spouse, king James’s daughter, were declared king and queen of England, &c. and were proclaimed on the 13th of the month called February, 1688-9. Upon this turn of the times, our author’s late friendship at court made him suspected of disaffection to the present government; so that on the 10th of December 1688; walking in Whitehall, he was sent for by the lords of
 the

the council, then sitting; and though nothing appeared against him, and himself assured them ‘ That he had done nothing, but what he could answer before God, and all the princes in the world; that he loved his country and the *Protestant religion* above his *life*, and never acted against either; that all he ever aimed at in his publick endeavours, was no other than what the *prince* himself had declared for; that king James was always his friend, and his father’s friend, and in gratitude he was the *king’s*, and did ever, as much as in him lay, influence him to his true interest;’ notwithstanding this, they obliged him to give sureties for his appearance the first day of the next term; which he did, and then was continued on the same security to Easter term following; on the last day of which, nothing having been laid to his charge, he was cleared in open court.

In the year 1690, he was again brought before the lords of the council, upon an accusation of holding correspondence with the late king James; and they requiring sureties for his appearance, he appealed to king William himself, who, after a conference of near two hours, inclined to acquit him; but, to please some of the council, he was held upon bail for a while, and in Trinity term, the same year, again discharged.

He was yet attacked a third time, and his name inserted in a proclamation, dated July the 18th this year, wherein he, with divers lords and others, to the number of eighteen, were charged with adhering to the kingdom’s enemies; but proof failing respecting him, he was again cleared by order of the King’s Bench court at Westminster, on the last day of Michaelmas term, 1690.

Being now again at liberty, he purposed to go over a second time to Pennsylvania, and published proposals in print for another settlement there: he had so far prepared for his transportation, that an order for a convoy was granted him by the secretary of state, when his voyage was prevented by a fresh accusation against him, backed by the oath of one William Ful-

ler, a WRETCH afterward by parliament declared a CHEAT and IMPOSTOR; and a warrant was thereupon granted for his apprehension, which he narrowly escaped, at his return from G. Fox's burial, on the 16th of the month called January, 1690.

He had hitherto defended himself before the king and council; but now thought it rather advisable to retire for a time, than hazard the sacrificing his innocence to the oaths of a profligate villain; and accordingly he appeared but little in publick for two or three years. During this recess, he applied himself to writing; and first, lest his own friends, the Quakers, should entertain any sinister thought of him, he sent the following epistle to their yearly-meeting in London, viz.

‘ The 30th of the third month, 1691.

‘ My beloved, dear, and honoured brethren,

‘ **M**Y unchangeable love salutes you; and though
 ‘ I am absent from you, yet I feel the sweet
 ‘ and lowly life of your heavenly fellowship, by which
 ‘ I am with you, and a partaker amongst you, whom
 ‘ I have loved above my chiefest joy: receive no evil
 ‘ surmisings, neither suffer hard thoughts, through the
 ‘ insinuations of any, to enter your minds against me,
 ‘ your *afflicted*, but not *forsaken*, friend and brother.
 ‘ My enemies are YOURS, and, in the ground, mine
 ‘ for your sakes; and that God seeth in secret, and
 ‘ will one day reward openly. My privacy is not be-
 ‘ cause men have sworn *truly*, but *falsely* against me;
 ‘ For wicked men have laid in wait for me, and false
 ‘ witnesses have laid to my charge things that I knew
 ‘ not,” ‘ who have never sought myself, but the good
 ‘ of all, through great exercises, and have done some
 ‘ good, and would have done more, and hurt to no
 ‘ man; but always desired that truth and righteous-
 ‘ ness, mercy and peace, might take place amongst us.
 ‘ Feel

‘ Feel me near you, and lay me near you, my dear
 ‘ and beloved brethren; and leave me not, neither
 ‘ forsake, but wrestle with Him that is able to prevail
 ‘ against the cruel desires of some, that we may yet
 ‘ meet in the congregations of his people, as in days
 ‘ past, to our mutual comfort. The everlasting God
 ‘ of his chosen in all generations, be in the midst of
 ‘ you, and crown your most solemn assemblies with
 ‘ his blessed presence! that his tender, meek, lowly,
 ‘ and heavenly love and life may flow among you,
 ‘ and that he would please to make it a seasoning and
 ‘ fruitful opportunity to you! that edified and comfort-
 ‘ ed you may return home, to his glorious high praise,
 ‘ who is worthy for ever! To whom I commit you,
 ‘ desiring to be remembered of you before Him, in
 ‘ the nearest and freshest accesses, who cannot forget
 ‘ you in the nearest relation,

‘ Your faithful friend and brother,

‘ W. P.’

His excellent preface to Robert Barclay’s works, and another to those of John Burnyeat, both printed this year, were farther fruits of his retirement; as were also,

1. A small treatise, entitled, “Just Measures, in
 “ an Epistle of Peace and Love, to such Professors as
 “ are under any Dissatisfaction about the present Or-
 “ der practised in the Church of Christ.”

2. “A Key opening the Way to every Common
 “ Understanding, how to discern the Difference be-
 “ tween the Religion professed by the People called
 “ Quakers, and the Perversions, Misrepresentations,
 “ and Calumnies of their Adversaries, both upon their
 “ Principles and Practices; wherein several Doctrines
 “ of that People are set in a clear Light:” a book so
 generally accepted, that it has been re-printed even to
 the fifteenth edition.

3. “Re-

3. "Reflections and Maxims, relating to the Conduct of Human Life:" an useful little book, which has also past many impressions.

Having thus improved the times of his retirement to his own comfort, and the common good, it pleased God to dissipate that cloud, and open his way again to a publick service; for in the latter end of the year 1693, through the mediation of his friends, the lord Ranelagh, lord Somers, duke of Buckingham, and Sir John Trenchard, or some of them, he was admitted to appear before the king and council, where he so pleaded his innocency, that he was acquitted.

In the 12th month, 1693, departed this life his beloved wife, Gulielma Maria, with whom he had lived in all the endearments of that nearest relation, about twenty-one years. The loss of her was a very great exercise; *such*, himself said, as all his *other* troubles were nothing in comparison of. Her character, dying expressions, and pious end, were related by himself, in an account he published, which is as follows:

' An Account of the Blessed End of my dear Wife
' GULIELMA MARIA PENN.

' *The memory of the just is blessed.* Prov. x. 7.

' MY dear wife, after eight months illness (though
' she never perfectly recovered her weakness
' the year before, which held her about six months)
' departed this life the 23d of the 12th month, 1693-4,
' about half an hour past two in the afternoon, being
' the sixth day of the week, and the fiftieth year of
' her age, and was sensible to the very last.

' During her illness she uttered many living and
' weighty expressions, upon divers occasions, both
' before and near her end. Some of which I took
' down, for mine and her dear childrens consolation.

' At one of the many meetings held in her chamber, we and our children and one of our servants
' being

‘ being only present, in a tendering and living power
 ‘ she broke out as she sat in her chair, “ Let us all
 “ prepare, not knowing what hour or watch the Lord
 “ cometh. Oh! I am full of matter! Shall we re-
 “ ceive good, and shall we not receive evil things at
 “ the hands of the Lord? I have cast my care upon
 “ the Lord; he is the physician of value; my expect-
 “ tation is wholly from him: he can raise up, and he
 “ can cast down.” ‘ A while after she said, “ Oh!
 “ what shall be done to the unprofitable servant?”
 ‘ At another meeting, before which much heaviness
 ‘ seemed to lie upon her natural spirits; she said,
 “ This has been a precious opportunity to me; I am
 “ finely relieved and comforted, blessed be the Lord.”
 ‘ At another time, as I was speaking to her of the
 ‘ Lord’s love and witness of his Spirit that was with
 ‘ her, to give her the peace of well-doing, she re-
 ‘ turned to me, looking up, “ For,” said she, “ I
 “ never did, to my knowledge, a wicked thing in all
 “ my life.”

‘ To a friend, aged 75 years, that came to see her,
 ‘ she said, “ Thou and I, to all appearance, are near
 “ our ends:” ‘ and to another, about 65 years old, that
 ‘ came also to see her, she said, “ How much older
 “ has the Lord made me by this weakness, than thou
 “ art! But I am contented; I do not murmur; I
 “ submit to his holy will.”

‘ In the strength of her fits and vapours, she said,
 “ It is the great goodness of the Lord, that I should
 “ be able to lie thus still. He is the physician of va-
 “ lue to me, can I say: let my tongue set forth his
 “ praise, and my spirit magnify him whilst I have
 “ breath. Oh! I am ready to be transported beyond
 “ my strength. God was not in the thunder, nor in
 “ the lightning, but he was heard in the STILL
 “ VOICE.” She did, at several times, pray very sweet-
 ‘ ly, and in all her weakness manifested the most
 ‘ equal, undaunted, and resigned spirit, as well as in
 ‘ all other respects. She was an excellent person, both
 ‘ as child, wife, mother, mistress, friend, and neighbour.

‘ She

‘ She called the children one day when weak, and
 ‘ said, “ Be not frightened, children; I do not call you
 ‘ to take my leave of you, but to see you; and I
 ‘ would have you walk in the fear of the Lord, and
 ‘ with his people in his holy truth,” ‘ or to that ef-
 ‘ fect.

‘ Speaking at another time solemnly to the children,
 ‘ she said, “ I never desired any great things for you,
 ‘ but that you may fear the Lord, and walk in his
 ‘ truth, among his people, to the end of your days,”
 ‘ &c.

‘ She would not suffer me to neglect any publick
 ‘ meeting, after I had my liberty, upon her account,
 ‘ saying often, “ O go, my dearest! Do not hinder
 ‘ any good for me. I desire thee go: I have cast
 ‘ my care upon the Lord: I shall see thee again.”

‘ About three hours before her end, a relation tak-
 ‘ ing leave of her, she said again, “ I have cast my
 ‘ care upon the Lord: my dear love to all friends;”
 ‘ and (lifting up her dying hands and eyes) prayed
 ‘ the Lord to preserve them and blefs them.

‘ About an hour after, causing all to withdraw, we
 ‘ were half an hour together, in which we took our
 ‘ last leave, saying all that was fit upon that solemn
 ‘ occasion. She continued sensible, and did eat some-
 ‘ thing about an hour before her departure; at which
 ‘ time our children, and most of the family were pre-
 ‘ sent. She quietly expired in my arms, her head upon
 ‘ my bosom, with a sensible and devout resignation
 ‘ of her soul to Almighty God. I hope I may say,
 ‘ she was a publick as well as a private loss; for she
 ‘ was not only an excellent wife and mother, but an
 ‘ entire and constant friend, of a more than common
 ‘ capacity, and greater modesty and humility; yet
 ‘ most equal and undaunted in danger. Religious,
 ‘ as well as ingenuous, without affectation. An easy
 ‘ mistress, and good neighbour, especially to the
 ‘ poor. Neither lavish, nor penurious, but an exam-
 ‘ ple of industry, as well as of other virtues: there-
 ‘ fore, our great loss, though her own eternal gain.’

In the 9th, 10th, and 11th months this year, he travelled in the work of the ministry, in the counties of Gloucester, Somerset, Devon and Dorset, having meetings almost daily, in the most considerable towns, and other places in those counties, at which the people flocked in abundantly; and his testimony to the TRUTH, answering to that of God in their consciences, was assented to by many.

In the year 1695, a nameless author writ what he called, "An Answer to William Penn's Key;" and W. P. returned, "A Reply to a Nameless Answer to "William Penn's Key, in which the Principles of "the People called Quakers are farther explained. "and confirmed:" a passage or two in which reply, being a defence of his own conduct, under the several changes of government, we think it but justice to transcribe.

The said nameless author charges W. Penn as being the author of a pamphlet in defence of the bill of exclusion, and tells him, "He was *then* a man principled for the civil liberties of his country." To which W. P. thus answers: 'But if I may be so bold
' with the author, pray why *then* principled for civil liberties, and not afterwards? And why this upon me at
' *all*? But why at *this* time, and upon *this* occasion,
' to be brought in by head and shoulders, as the
' proverb is? But what if I never *writ* such a pamphlet, (as to be sure I did *not*) what is to be said
' to, and of, such an author, in such a case, and in
' such a time, and to a man under my circumstances?
' Let him know, then, that I did not only never *write*
' such a pamphlet, but I am sure that I do not remember that I ever read one of such a *title*, or *heard*
' of it; nor was I of that *principle*, and therefore I
' return the civility of his conclusion to him again;
' for, I thank God, I was always so much for *civil*
' *liberties*, that I thought no man ought to lose them
' for his *religious principles*; and farther, that they were
' never to be secured by this or that *man*, but by a
' good and equal *constitution* of government, as some
' papers

‘ papers by me, which I writ at that time, as well as
 ‘ divers persons yet living, of good reputation, can
 ‘ evidence for me.’

The aforesaid author also charges him with prevari-
 cating in the late reign, and shewing an intemperate
 zeal for a boundless liberty of conscience, &c. To
 which he says, ‘ In this he would be *charitable*, but let
 ‘ him first be *just*. If there were *no* prevarications,
 ‘ then there is no need of an intemperate zeal for li-
 ‘ berty to shadow or reconcile them to my former prin-
 ‘ ciples; and I am so much a friend to him and his
 ‘ brethren, that I wish them *free* from *all* intempe-
 ‘ rance and prevarications too, and that in all reigns:
 ‘ and if it be possible, or worth while, to reconcile
 ‘ him better to my conduct, let him peruse my “Great
 ‘ “ Case of Liberty of Conscience,” printed 1671, and
 ‘ my “ Letter to the States of Embden, 1672,” and
 ‘ my “ Present State of England, 1675,” and he will
 ‘ find I was the same man then, and acted by the
 ‘ same principles: not more intemperate in the reign
 ‘ that favoured it, than in the reign I contended with
 ‘ that did not favour it. And no man, but a perfe-
 ‘ cutor, which I count a *beast of prey*, and a declared
 ‘ *enemy to mankind*, can, without great injustice or in-
 ‘ gratitude, reproach that part I had in king James’s
 ‘ court. For I think I may say without vanity, upon
 ‘ this provocation, I endeavoured at least to do some
 ‘ good at my own cost, and would have been glad to
 ‘ have done more: I am very sure I intended, and I
 ‘ think I did, harm to none, neither parties nor private
 ‘ persons, *my own family excepted*; for which I doubt
 ‘ not this author’s pardon, since he shews himself so
 ‘ little concerned for the master of it.’

About the latter end of the summer this year,* he
 again went down into the west of England, and was
 present in the eighth month at a dispute held at Melk-
 sham in Wiltshire, between one John Plympton a

Baptist, and John Clark a Quaker. The Baptist had dared the Quakers to a conference on five heads, viz. “ 1. The Universality of Grace. 2. Baptism. 3. The Supper. 4. Perfection. 5. The Resurrection.” John Clark notably answered his objections; but Plympton continuing to cavil against the plainest scripture proofs, even when the auditors were satisfied, would not be silent. The evening approaching, and William Penn finding himself under a concern to bear his testimony to the truth in that assembly, terminated the dispute by an open and free declaration, which the auditory received with singular attention; and he concluded the meeting with prayer.

On the fifteenth of the ninth month a meeting was appointed at Wells, and a large room at an inn, with a balcony next the street, was taken for that purpose, and the bishop duly certified of the same. The room was quick!y filled, and there was also a great concourse of people in the street; so that, for the conveniency of his double auditory, W. P. placed himself in the balcony, and thence preached to the people; but in the midst of his declaration came officers from the mayor with the following warrant, viz.

‘ Wells City and } To the Constables, Verderors, and
‘ Borough. } Serjeants at Mace, of the said City.

‘ **W**HEREAS William Penn, and several others
‘ called Quakers, are now riotously and un-
‘ lawfully assembled and gathered together in this
‘ city, and the said William Penn is now preaching
‘ or teaching in an house not licensed according to the
‘ late act of parliament. These are therefore in his
‘ majesty’s name to require you to take the said Wil-
‘ liam Penn, and him immediately to bring before us
‘ to answer the premises. Given under our hands and
‘ seals this 15th day of November, 1695.

‘ Matthew Baron, Mayor.
‘ William Salmon.’

The

The officers, rudely officious, though desired to tarry till he had done, forced him away instantly before the magistrates; who upon examination finding the house was certified, and that, by disturbing a lawful for an unlawful assembly, they had overshot themselves, excused the matter as well as they could, and presently dismissed him.

About this time, the people called Quakers soliciting the parliament in the case of oaths, W. P. presented to the House of Commons, before whom a bill for their ease was then depending, the following paper, viz.

‘ To the Honourable House of Commons.’

‘ A few words crave their perusal, upon occasion of
‘ the bill to excuse the people called Quakers from
‘ swearing.

‘ **T**HAT the request of the people called Qua-
‘ kers may be indulged by the members of
‘ this honourable house, it is humbly proposed to
‘ them to consider the nature and fulness of the secu-
‘ RITY they offer; and if it be found to amount to
‘ the weight and value of an OATH, it is hoped there
‘ will be no difficulty in accepting it in lieu of an
‘ oath.

‘ The pledge that every man upon oath gives of
‘ his truth, is his soul; he means that God should
‘ deal with him according to the truth of his affirm-
‘ ative or negative given by him in the name of God.
‘ Now that the said people do as much, viz. that
‘ they pledge their souls too, in their way; that they
‘ mean the same caution with them that swear, and
‘ are under the same reverence in their simple and
‘ solemn AYE or NO, and therefore give the same se-
‘ curity; I shall beg this honourable house to consider
‘ three things:

‘ First, That this people make it an article of their
‘ faith and practice, and a great part of their charac-
‘ teristick,

teristick, NOT TO SWEAR AT ALL: they think (whether they are mistaken or no) that the righteousness of Christianity does not need or use an oath; so that you have their religion, in the highest exercises of it, in human affairs, for your security.

Secondly, That they have often, and at very dear rates, proved to the world they MEAN what they SAY; since they have frequently chosen to lose their estates, and lie and die in jail, rather than save the one, or deliver the other, by deviating from their principle; and since, in such cases, integrity is the security all aim at, it is hard to conceive which way any man can give a greater: nor are they so insensible, as not to know that untruth in them, after this great indulgence, is a more aggravated crime than perjury in others: since they excuse themselves from not swearing, by a profession of an exacter simplicity, and greater strictness.

Lastly, They humbly hope, that being to suffer for untruth as for perjury, their request will not be uneasy; since they subject their integrity to trial, upon the hazard of a correction, that is so much greater than the nature of the offence, in the eye of the law, would bear. Let them then, pray, SPEAK in their OWN way; and if false, BE PUNISHED in YOURS. And since this honourable house has testified an excelling zeal to secure the rights and privileges of that great body they represent, this inferior member, with all due respect claiming a relation to it, requests they may not be left exposed in theirs; but that, by your wisdom and goodness, they may be provided for, in true proportion to the exigencies they are under; which will engage them in the best wishes for your prosperities.

‘ W. P.’

On the 5th of the 1st month, 1695-6, he consummated his second marriage at Bristol, with Hannah the daughter of Thomas Callowhill, and granddaughter of Dennis Hollister, an eminent man of that city:

she was a sober and religious young woman, with whom he had a comfortable cohabitation during the rest of his life, and had issue by her four sons and one daughter.

In the 2d month, 1696, his eldest son by his former wife, named Springett, died of a consumption, at Worminghurst in Suffex, in the 21st year of his age, a most hopeful and promising young man; whose character, published together with that of his mother, in the account before mentioned, is as follows:

‘ SORROW and Joy, in the Loss and End of SPRINGETT
‘ PENN.’

‘ MY very dear child and eldest son, Springett
‘ Penn, did from his childhood manifest a
‘ disposition to goodness, and gave me hope of a more
‘ than ordinary capacity; and time satisfied me in both
‘ respects. For besides a good share of learning, and
‘ especially of mathematical knowledge, he shewed a
‘ judgment in the use and application of it, much
‘ above his years. He had the seeds of many good
‘ qualities rising in him, that made him beloved,
‘ and consequently lamented; but especially his hu-
‘ mility, plainness, and truth, with a tenderness and
‘ softness of nature, that, if I may say it, were an
‘ improvement upon his other good qualities. But
‘ though these were no security against sickness and
‘ death, yet they went a good way to facilitate a due
‘ preparation for them. And indeed the good ground
‘ that was in him shewed itself very plainly some time
‘ before his illness: for more than half a year before
‘ it pleased the Lord to visit him with weakness, he
‘ grew more retired, and much disengaged from
‘ youthful delights; shewing a remarkable tenderness
‘ in meetings, even when they were silent: but when
‘ he saw himself doubtful as to his recovery, he turned
‘ his mind and meditations more apparently towards
‘ the Lord; secretly (as also when they that attended
‘ upon

‘ upon him were in the room) praying often, with
 ‘ great fervency to the Lord, and uttering very many
 ‘ thankful expressions and praises to him in a very
 ‘ deep and sensible manner. One day he said to us,
 “ I am resigned; what God pleaseth; he knows what
 “ is best. I would live, if it pleased him, that I
 “ might serve him: but, O Lord, not my will, but
 “ thy will be done.”

‘ One speaking to him of the things of this world,
 ‘ and what might please him when recovered; he an-
 ‘ swered, “ My eye looks another way, where the
 “ truest pleasure is.” ‘ When he told me he had
 ‘ rested well, and that I said it was a mercy to him,
 ‘ he quickly replied upon me, with a serious, yet sweet
 ‘ look, “ ALL is mercy, dear father, EVERY thing is
 “ mercy.” ‘ Another time when I went to a meet-
 ‘ ing, at parting, he said, “ Remember me, my dear
 “ father, before the Lord: though I cannot go to
 “ meetings, yet I have many good meetings; the
 “ Lord comes in upon my spirit; I have heavenly
 “ meetings with him by myself.”

‘ And not many days before he died, the Lord ap-
 ‘ pearing by his holy power upon his spirit when
 ‘ alone, at my return, asking him how he did, he
 ‘ told me, “ O I have had a sweet time, a blessed
 “ time! Great enjoyments! The power of the Lord
 “ overcame my soul: a sweet time indeed!”

‘ And telling him how some of the gentry, that
 ‘ had been to visit him, were gone to their games,
 ‘ and sports, and pleasures, and how little considera-
 ‘ tion the children of men had of God and their lat-
 ‘ ter end; and how much happier he was in this
 ‘ weakness to have been otherwise educated, and to
 ‘ be preserved from those temptations to vanity, &c.
 ‘ he answered, “ It is all stuff, my dear father: it is
 “ sad stuff. O that I might live to tell them so!”
 ‘ Well, my dear child, I replied, let this be the time
 ‘ of thy entering into secret covenant with God, that
 ‘ if he raise thee, thou wilt dedicate thy youth,
 ‘ strength, and life, to him, and his people, and ser-

‘ vice: he returned, “ Father, that is not now to
 “ do; it is not now to do;” ‘ with great tenderness
 ‘ upon his spirit.

‘ Being almost ever near him, and doing any thing
 ‘ for him he wanted or desired, he broke out with
 ‘ much sense and love, “ My dear father! if I live I
 “ will make thee amends.” ‘ And speaking to him
 ‘ of divine enjoyments, that the eye of man saw not,
 ‘ but the soul made alive by the Spirit of Christ
 ‘ plainly felt; he, in a lively remembrance, cried out,
 “ O I had a sweet time yesterday by myself! O the
 “ Lord hath preserved me to this day! O blessed be
 “ his name; my soul praises him for his mercy! O
 “ father, it is the goodness of the Lord that I am so
 “ well as I am!” ‘ Fixing his eyes upon his sister,
 ‘ he took her by the hand, saying, “ Poor TISHE!
 “ look to good things, poor child! there is no com-
 “ fort without it. One drop of the love of God is worth
 “ more than all the world. I know it; I have tasted
 “ it: I have felt as much, or more, of the love of
 “ God in this weakness, than in all my life before.”

‘ At another time, as I stood by him, he looked up
 ‘ upon me, and said, “ Dear father, sit by me; I
 “ love thy company, and I know thou lovest mine;
 “ and if it be the Lord’s will that we must part, be
 “ not troubled, for that will trouble me.”

‘ Taking something one night in bed, just before
 ‘ his going to rest, he sat up, and fervently prayed
 ‘ thus: “ O Lord God! thou whose Son said to his
 “ disciples, *Whatever ye ask in my Name ye shall re-*
 “ *ceive*; I pray thee, in His Name, bless this to me this
 “ night, and give me rest, if it be thy blessed will, O
 “ Lord!” ‘ And accordingly he had a very com-
 ‘ fortable night, of which he took a thankful notice
 ‘ before us next day.

‘ And when he, at one time, more than ordinarily,
 ‘ expressed a desire to live, and intreated me to pray
 ‘ for him; he added, “ And, dear father, if the Lord
 “ should raise me, and enable me to serve him and
 “ his people, then I might travel with thee sometimes,
 “ and

‘ and we might ease one another;” ‘ meaning in the
 ‘ ministry: he spoke it with great modesty: upon
 ‘ which I said to him; My dear child, if it please the
 ‘ Lord to raise thee, I am satisfied it will be so; and
 ‘ if not, then inasmuch as it is thy fervent desire in
 ‘ the Lord, he will look upon thee just as if thou
 ‘ didst live to serve him, and thy comfort will be the
 ‘ same: so either way it will be well. For if thou
 ‘ shouldst not live, I do verily believe thou wilt have
 ‘ the recompence of thy good desires, without the
 ‘ temptations and troubles that would attend, if long
 ‘ life were granted to thee.

‘ Saying one day thus, “ I am resolved I will have
 “ such a thing done;” ‘ he immediately caught him-
 ‘ self, and fell into this reflection, with much contri-
 ‘ tion, “ Did I say I WILL? O Lord, forgive me that
 “ irreverent and hasty expression! I am a poor weak
 “ creature, and live by thee; and therefore I should
 “ have said, If it pleaseth thee that I live, I INTEND
 “ to do so, or so; Lord forgive my rash expression!”

‘ Seeing my present wife ready to be helpful and
 ‘ do any thing for him, he turned to her and said,
 “ Do not thou do so; let THEM; do not trouble thy-
 “ self so much for such a poor creature as I am.”
 ‘ And taking leave of him a few nights before his
 ‘ end, he said to her, “ Pray for me, dear mother;
 “ thou art good and innocent; it may be the Lord
 “ may hear thy prayers for me; for I desire my
 “ strength again, that I might live and employ it
 “ more in the Lord’s service.”

‘ Two or three days before his departure, he called
 ‘ his brother to him, and looking awfully upon him,
 ‘ said, “ Be a good boy; and know there is a God,
 “ a Great and Mighty God, who is a rewarder of the
 “ righteous, and so he is of the wicked; but their
 “ rewards are not the same. Have a care of idle
 “ people, and idle company; and love good company,
 “ and good friends, and the Lord will bless thee: I
 “ have seen good things for thee since my sickness, if
 “ thou dost but fear the Lord: and if I should not

“ live (though the Lord is all-sufficient) remember
 “ what I say to thee, when I am dead and gone :
 “ Poor child ! The Lord blefs thee ! Come and kifs
 “ me !” ‘ Which melted us all into great tenderness,
 ‘ but his brother more particularly.

‘ Many good exhortations he gave to some of the
 ‘ servants, and others that came to see him, that were
 ‘ not of our communion, as well as those that were,
 ‘ which drew tears from their eyes.

‘ The day but one before he died, he went to take
 ‘ the air in a coach ; but said at his return, “ Really,
 “ father, I am exceeding weak, thou canst not think
 “ how weak I am :” ‘ My dear child, I replied, thou
 ‘ art weak, but God is strong, who is the strength of
 ‘ thy life : “ Ay, THAT is it,” said he, “ which up-
 “ holdeth me.” ‘ And the day before he departed,
 ‘ being alone with him, he desired me to fasten the
 ‘ door ; and looking earnestly upon me, “ Dear father,
 “ thou art a dear father, and I know THY Father :
 “ come, let us two have a little meeting, a private
 “ ejaculation together, now no body else is here. O
 “ my soul is sensible of the love of God !” ‘ And
 ‘ indeed a sweet time we had, like to precious oint-
 ‘ ment for his burial.

‘ He desired to go home, if not to live, to die
 ‘ there ; and we made preparation for it, being twenty
 ‘ miles from my house ; and so much stronger was his
 ‘ spirit than his body, that he spoke of going next
 ‘ day, which was the morning he departed ; and a
 ‘ symptom it was of his greater journey to his longer
 ‘ home. That morning he left us, growing more and
 ‘ more sensible of his extreme weakness, he asked me,
 ‘ as doubtful of himself, “ How shall I go home ?”
 ‘ I told him in a coach ; he answered, “ I am best in
 “ a coach.” ‘ But observing his decay, I said, Why,
 ‘ child ? Thou art at home every where. “ Ay,” said
 ‘ he, “ So I am, in the Lord.” I took that oppor-
 ‘ tunity to ask him if I should remember his love to
 ‘ his friends at Bristol, London, &c. “ Yes, yes,”
 ‘ said he, “ my love in the Lord, my love to all
 “ friends

friends in the Lord:" 'and relations too? he said, Ay, to be sure.'" 'Being asked if he would have his afs's milk, or eat any thing; he answered, "No more outward food, but heavenly food is provided for me."

'His time drawing on apace, he said to me, "My dear father, kiss me: thou art a dear father; I desire to prize it: how can I make thee amends?"

'He also called his sister, and said to her, "Poor child! come and kiss me;" 'between whom seemed a tender and long farewell. I sent for his brother, that he might kiss him too, which he did: all were in tears about him. Turning his head to me, he said softly, "Dear father, hast no hope for me?" I answered, My dear child, I am afraid to hope, and I dare not despair; but am, and have been, resigned, though one of the hardest lessons I ever learned. He paused a while; and with a composed frame of mind he said, "Come life, come death, I am RESIGNED.

O the love of God overcomes my soul!" 'Feeling himself decline apace, and seeing him not able to bring up the matter that was in his throat, somebody fetched the doctor; but so soon as he came in, he said, "Let my father speak to the doctor, and I will go to sleep;" 'which he did, and waked no more; breathing his last on my breast, the 10th day of the 2d month, between the hours of nine and ten in the morning, 1696, in his one and twentieth year.

'So ended the life of my dear child, and eldest son; much of my comfort and hope, and one of the most tender and dutiful, as well as ingenuous and virtuous youths, I knew, if I may say so of my own dear child: in whom I lost all that any father can lose in a child, since he was capable of any thing that became a sober young man; my friend and companion, as well as most affectionate and dutiful child.

'May this loss and end have its due weight and impression upon all his dear relations and friends,

‘ and those to whose hands this account may come,
 ‘ for their remembrance, and preparation for their
 ‘ great and last change; and I have my end in mak-
 ‘ ing my dear child’s thus far publick.

‘ W. PENN.’

This year¹ he published a treatise, entitled, “*Primitive Christianity revived, in the Faith and Practice of the People called Quakers:*” a book which rightly represented that people’s principles, and hath been serviceable to the information of many.

At this time George Keith, having been disowned by the Quakers for his contentious and disorderly spirit, kept up a meeting, with some adherents, at Turner’s-hall, London; where, under the name of religion, he fostered strife and debate; sending out peremptory challenges and summonses to the Quakers to dispute with them; and mustering up against them quotations out of their books, such as himself formerly could candidly interpret, and had successfully vindicated against other opposers. To put a check to his confidence, by employing him to beat down the batteries himself had raised, W. P. sets before him his own vindications of the Quakers from those very lies, when told by others, which himself had now licked up afresh. This book our author entitled, “*More Work for George Keith.*” It has a suitable preface, wherein he aptly describes the man, and his self-contradictious methods of procedure.

There being about this time^m a bill depending in the House of Lords against blasphemy, he presented to that House, “*A Caution requisite in the consideration of that bill,*” wherein he advises that the word **BLASPHEMY** be so explained, as that no ambiguous interpretation might minister occasion to malicious or envious persons to prosecute under that name whatsoever

¹ 1696. ^m 1697.

they should be pleased to call so: after which the House thought fit to drop the bill.

In the 2d month 1698, he set out, together with John Everott and Thomas Story, from Bristol, where he then dwelt, for Ireland. Some time after his arrival there, John Plympton, the tenacious Baptist disputant mentioned before, being at Dublin, published a paper, entitled, "A Quaker no Christian," to which W. P. replied under the title of, "The Quaker a Christian;" and the more effectually to wipe away that adversary's aspersions, he also writ and dispersed a paper entitled, "Gospel Truths held by the People called Quakers," subscribed by himself and three others of his friends; and likewise reprinted the 8th and 9th chapters of his "Primitive Christianity revived;" which gave the people a general satisfaction that Plympton's charges were groundless.

After this, he travelled to other parts of that nation in the work of the ministry to the edification of the churches, of which himself gave some account, in an "Epistle sent to the yearly-meeting at London," which is as follows:

' An EPISTLE to the YEARLY-MEETING,
' at LONDON.

' Lamb's-Town in Ireland, the 2d of the
' 4th month, 1698.

' Dear FRIENDS and BRETHREN,

' IT is not the least of our exercises that we are thus
' far outwardly separated from you at this time
' of your holy and blessed solemnity; but because we
' have great reason to believe it is the will of God,
' we humbly submit to his ordering hand, and with
' open arms of deep and tender love embrace you,
' our living and our loving brethren, who are given
' up to serve the Lord in your generation, and that
' have long preferred Jerusalem, and the peace and
' prosperity

' prosperity of her borders, above your chiefeſt joy.
 ' The ſalutation of our endeared brotherly love, in
 ' CHRIST JESUS, is unto you, deſiring that he may
 ' richly appear among you in power, wiſdom and love,
 ' to guide your judgments, and influence your ſpirits,
 ' in this weighty and anniverſary aſſembly, that ſo
 ' nothing may appear, or have place among you, but
 ' what ſingly ſeeks the honour of the Lord, the exalt-
 ' ation of his truth, and the peace and eſtabliſhment
 ' of his heritage. For this, brethren, you and we
 ' know, has been the aim, end, and practice of thoſe
 ' whom the Lord hath made willing to forſake and
 ' give up all for his name's ſake; and through various
 ' exerciſes and tribulations, yea, in the way of the
 ' daily croſs, and through the fight and baptiſm of
 ' manifold afflictions, to have their converſation, and
 ' ſojourning here below upon the earth, in fear and
 ' love, looking for their reward in the heavens that
 ' ſhall never paſs away; who have not been lifted up
 ' by good report, nor caſt down by evil report, from
 ' their love to the Lord and his precious TRUTH, but
 ' hold on their way, and whoſe hands, being clear
 ' of evil things towards all men, have waxed ſtronger
 ' and ſtronger in the Lord. Wherefore, dear bre-
 ' thren, let us all be found in the ſame ſteps, and
 ' walking the ſame way, not being high-minded, but
 ' fearing to the end, that we may ſerve up our gene-
 ' ration in diligence and faithfulneſs, and ſo enter into
 ' the reſt that God has reſerved for his true travellers
 ' and labourers in his vineyard.

' And now, dear brethren, know that the Lord
 ' hath brought us well into this kingdom of Ireland,
 ' and given us many large and bleſſed opportunities
 ' in ſeveral parts; meetings being crowded by people
 ' of all ranks and perſuaſions, eſpecially at Dublin,
 ' who, for aught we have heard, have given the truth
 ' a good report: and indeed the Lord has mightily
 ' appeared for his own name, and owned us with a
 ' more than ordinary preſence, ſuitable to the occa-
 ' ſions, and made very heavy and hard things eaſy

‘ to us, because of the glory of his power, with which
 ‘ he assisted us in our needful times; for which our
 ‘ souls bow before him, and bless, reverence, and
 ‘ praise, his holy and worthy name. So that, dear
 ‘ brethren, we have good tidings to give you of
 ‘ truth’s prosperity at large, and more especially, in
 ‘ the churches, having had the comfort of the general
 ‘ meeting of this nation, consisting of many weighty
 ‘ brethren and sisters, from all parts thereof, which
 ‘ was held in the city of Dublin, in much love, peace
 ‘ and unity, for several days; wherein we had occasion
 ‘ to observe their commendable care for the prosperity
 ‘ of the blessed truth, in all the branches of its holy
 ‘ testimony, both in the general and in the particular,
 ‘ improving the good order practised among the
 ‘ churches of Christ in our nation.

‘ Indeed, their simplicity, gravity, and coolness, in
 ‘ managing their church affairs; their diligence in
 ‘ meetings, both for worship and business; their dis-
 ‘ patch in ending differences, and expedients to pre-
 ‘ vent them; but especially their zeal against cove-
 ‘ tousness, and indifferency in truth’s service, and ex-
 ‘ emplary care, to discourage IMMODERATE CONCERN
 ‘ in pursuit of the things of this life, and to excite
 ‘ friends to do GOOD with what they have, very greatly
 ‘ comforted us: and in the sweet and blessed power of
 ‘ Christ Jesus the meeting ended, and friends departed.
 ‘ The Lord grant that you may also see of the travail
 ‘ of your souls, and end of your labour, and service
 ‘ of love, who seek not your own things, but the
 ‘ things of JESUS CHRIST, in this your solemn general
 ‘ meeting.

‘ And, dear brethren, we must tell you, here is
 ‘ room enough for true labourers in God’s vineyard;
 ‘ and cannot well forbear to recommend the service of
 ‘ truth in this nation to your serious consideration, if
 ‘ haply the Lord may put it into the hearts of any
 ‘ faithful and weighty brethren to visit it, in the WORD
 ‘ of ETERNAL LIFE; for we cannot but say, The har-
 ‘ vest,

cxl THE AUTHOR'S LIFE.

‘ vest appears to us to be GREAT, and the labourers,
‘ in comparison, but a FEW: so in that love which
‘ many waters cannot quench, nor distance wear out
‘ of our remembrances, and in which we desire to be
‘ remembered of you to the Lord of our household, we
‘ dearly and tenderly salute and embrace you, and
‘ remain

‘ Your loving and faithful brethren,

‘ WILLIAM PENN,
‘ JOHN EVEROTT,
‘ THOMAS STORY.

‘ P. S. Friends here have been zealous and liberal in
‘ printing and re-printing, and freely distributing
‘ great quantities, and to very good purpose, of
‘ several books and papers, writ in defence of
‘ TRUTH, and for information of the simple and
‘ mis-informed, which we hope will also fall under
‘ your consideration.’

A short time after, being at Cork, he visited the bishop, and occasionally presented him with one of the forementioned papers, called “ Gospel Truths,” which he then seemed to receive favourably, but afterward unexpectedly published some exceptions against it in print; to which W. P. after his coming back to England, the same year returned an answer, being, “ A Defence of a Paper, entitled GOSPEL TRUTHS, “ against the Exceptions of the Bishop of Cork’s Testimony.”

In the year 1699, was a dispute at West-Dereham in Norfolk, between some clergymen and the Quakers; in which the former, having missed their aim, the vain-glory of a conquest, grew angry: and in hopes of whetting the magistrates sword to cut asunder those knots themselves wanted skill to untie, presented to the king and parliament a book called, “ A Brief “ Discovery,” &c. wherein they painted the Quakers

‘ as

is black as their own robes : upon which our author published the following short observations, viz.

‘ It does not surprize us to be evilly intreated, and
‘ especially by those that have an interest in doing it.
‘ But if conscience prevailed more than contention,
‘ and charity over-ruled prejudice, we might hope for
‘ fairer quarter from our adversaries.

‘ But such is our unhappiness, that nothing less
‘ will satisfy them than breaking in upon the INDUL-
‘ GENCE that we enjoy; if they could persuade the
‘ government to second their attempts to a NEW PER-
‘ SECUTION. In order to which, we perceive they
‘ have been hard at work to pervert our books, violate
‘ our sense, abuse our practice, and ridicule our per-
‘ sons; knowing very well with whom they have to
‘ do, and that the PATIENCE of our profession is their
‘ security for ABUSING of it.

‘ However, if it has weight enough with our superiors
‘ to expect a fresh defence of our principles and prac-
‘ tices, we shall, with God’s assistance, be ready, for
‘ their satisfaction, once more to justify both, against
‘ the insults of our restless adversaries; who otherwise,
‘ we take leave to say, would not deserve our notice,
‘ since we have already repeatedly answered their ob-
‘ jections in print, and think it our duty, as well as
‘ wisdom, to use the liberty the government has fa-
‘ voured us with, in as peaceable and inoffensive a
‘ manner as may be.’

: In the sixth month this year, himself with his wife
and family took shipping for his province of Pennsyl-
vania; and on the third of the seventh month follow-
ing, from on board the ship lying in Cowes road, near
the Isle of Wight, he took his farewell of his friends,
in an epistle directed “ To the People of God called
“ Quakers, wherever scattered or gathered, in Eng-
“ land, Ireland, Scotland, Holland, Germany, or in
‘ any other parts of Europe;” which is as follows:

‘ An

‘ An EPISTLE of Farewell, to the People of GOD
 ‘ called QUAKERS, wherever scattered or gathered,
 ‘ in ENGLAND, IRELAND, SCOTLAND, HOLLAND,
 ‘ GERMANY, or in any other Parts of EUROPE.

‘ **M**Y dearly beloved, and highly esteemed in
 ‘ Christ, our heavenly head, the living and
 ‘ good Shepherd of the sheep, by whom we have been
 ‘ found out (one of a family, and two of a tribe)
 ‘ and made one holy flock and family unto Him, in
 ‘ this day of his spiritual and glorious appearance:
 ‘ grace, mercy and peace, yea, HIS peace, which the
 ‘ world can neither give you, nor take from you, be
 ‘ plentifully multiplied amongst you from day to day;
 ‘ that an holy, harmless, and faithful people you may
 ‘ be, yielding to the Lord the fruits of his goodness,
 ‘ by a circumspect and self-denying conversation to the
 ‘ end.

‘ And now, my dear friends, whom I know and
 ‘ love, and you also whom I truly love, though I do
 ‘ not know personally, nor may be so known of some
 ‘ of you, since it has pleased the good and all-wise
 ‘ God to order my course from you, so that I cannot
 ‘ visit you, as I have often desired before I left you,
 ‘ this, therefore, is to be my brotherly farewell unto
 ‘ you. And surely my soul is bowed in humble peti-
 ‘ tions to Israel’s God, the true, and living, and pow-
 ‘ erful God, that it may be WELL with you all, here
 ‘ and for ever. And, my dear brethren, this is cer-
 ‘ tain, if ye do well, you shall certainly FARE well;
 ‘ and in the end of all your trials, troubles, and temp-
 ‘ tations, it shall be said unto you, “ WELL DONE,
 ‘ good and faithful servants, enter ye into the joy
 ‘ of the Lord.” ‘ O it is that which crowns the
 ‘ work: not saying, but doing: we must not only be-
 ‘ gin, but end well; and hold out to the end: not
 ‘ be of those who are *weary* of well-doing, but who
 ‘ follow the Lord *fully*, as Caleb and Joshua did in
 ‘ old time, and are famed for it. So that though
 ‘ God

• God has appeared to us, and given us many and
 • undeniable testimonies that it was HE, and not an-
 • other, who reached our hearts, and touched our
 • consciences, and brought us to confession, yea, and
 • forsaking too, of that which offended him, in great
 • measure, blessed be his name; yet we are not to
 • stop, or take up our rest here: we must *watch* still,
 • *pray* still, *fight* still, that good fight of faith, till we
 • have overcome the enemy of our souls: and even
 • *then* must we watch and pray, and that to the end
 • of our days; that we may not lose that crown of
 • glory, which God, the righteous Judge, shall give
 • to all those that love his appearance, and overcome,
 • and persevere to the end: for, be assured, we shall
 • reap if we *faint* not: but we shall faint, if WE WAIT
 • NOT UPON GOD, who alone is the strength of his
 • people.

• This, my dear friends, is that which lies with
 • greatest stress upon my spirit; WATCH to your DAILY
 • PRESERVATION, and be not satisfied unless you feel
 • it. “Sufficient is the day for the evil thereof,”
 • said our blessed Lord. God is not wanting: he that
 • long stood at the door of our hearts, under our
 • impenitency in times past, “till his locks were wet
 • with the dew, and his hair with the drops of the
 • night,” till we were wakened out of our carnal se-
 • curity, and came to judgment in ourselves, unto
 • unfeigned repentance; to be sure he is not weary of
 • waiting to be gracious now to his poor people; es-
 • pecially if they are poor in spirit, and hungering
 • and thirsting after righteousness; and are not filled,
 • overlaid and choked with the cares and incumbran-
 • ces of this world. No, he was ever *good* unto Israel,
 • yea, unto *all* that are of an upright and clean *heart*:
 • wherefore, brethren, let your eye be to the Lord,
 • and wait often upon him; walk with him, and dwell
 • with him, and he will walk and dwell with you:
 • and then no weapon formed against you, be it in
 • particular, or in general, shall prosper; that is, not
 • FINALLY. It may perhaps *try* you, and bruise your
 • beel,

‘ *beel*, as it did your Lord and Master’s; but it shall
 ‘ never finally prevail against you, if you keep the eye
 ‘ of your minds to him, and have faith in him, who
 ‘ saved Daniel in the lion’s den, and Shadrach, Me-
 ‘ shach, and Abednego in the fiery furnace, and has
 ‘ upheld us to this day under various afflictions.

‘ And though Balaams there are, that may be hired
 ‘ by the Balaks of our age, to curse our Israel-family
 ‘ of God, of which some of us have been very sensi-
 ‘ ble, yet this we know, *The Son of God is among us*,
 ‘ who commands the *fire* and the *water*, and the *winds*,
 ‘ as well *now* as *then*: and there is no enchantment
 ‘ against Jacob, or divination against Israel, that can
 ‘ prosper. And who knows, but even some of these
 ‘ present Balaams may yet live to say before they die,
 ‘ as others of them have done since we were a people,
 ‘ “How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob! How pleasant
 ‘ “is thy dwelling-place, O Israel!” ‘ But then, friends,
 ‘ we must KEEP our tents, we must be a retired and a
 ‘ peculiar people, and dwell ALONE. We must keep
 ‘ above the world, and clear of the spirit of it, and
 ‘ those many trifles, cares, and troubles that abound in
 ‘ it, with which but too many have visibly wounded
 ‘ and pierced their own souls.

‘ Beware of this, in the name of the Lord, and do
 ‘ not tempt GOD: it is in CHRIST ye have peace; in
 ‘ the WORLD is the trouble: keep, therefore, in him
 ‘ who has called himself (and we have *found* him so)
 ‘ the WAY, TRUTH, and LIFE; and you shall live,
 ‘ because HE lives: he the *root*, you the *branches*; by
 ‘ whom you will be kept green and fruitful, bringing
 ‘ forth the fruits and graces of the Holy Spirit, in all
 ‘ your converse and commerce, that it may be seen
 ‘ and said, “God is with you, and amongst you.” O!
 ‘ let humility, charity, meekness, and self-denial, shine
 ‘ amongst you; so will you come to sit, as did the
 ‘ primitive Christians, in heavenly places in Christ
 ‘ Jesus, and be preserved through the noise, snares,
 ‘ and hurry of this present evil world.

‘ Much

‘ Much I could say, for my heart is open, and full too of divine love and matter to you; but time fails me: therefore, FEEL me, my dear friends, in that love of God which is over sea and land; where distance cannot separate, or time decay, nor many waters quench. In which love I embrace and salute you all, with the kiss of our heavenly fellowship, which the Lord hath given us in the blessed TRUTH. And my strong desires are to him, that we may maintain our blessed relation by the same means by which we came at first into it, viz. the true fear and love of God; which did not only make us careful not to offend him, but also to be willing to forsake all things that came in competition with him, or our duty to him.

‘ Oh! let this chaste fear and first love abound amongst you, my beloved in Christ, our blessed light and life; or you will decay, wither, and die to God, and your good beginnings; which God Almighty forbid.

‘ I know there is a serious and diligent people among you, who do not only know *when* good comes from the hand of the Lord, but wait upon him *for* it, and that daily; that their souls may be strengthened in the way and work of the Lord: and these can no more live without his presence, his mystical and hidden MANNA, in their spiritual journey to the eternal Canaan of God, than outward Israel was able to live without *manna* in the wilderness, in their journey to their temporal Canaan. And I beseech my God and my Father, and your God and your Father, my dear brethren, to attend all these holy waiters upon him with the good things of his house, and daily make them glad in his holy house of prayer.

‘ But the condition of some, who pretend to follow Christ, yet are afar off, affects my spirit; for they know little of these enjoyments, and hardly eat so much as the *crumbs* which fall from CHRIST’S *table*, and seem to satisfy themselves with a mere *convincement of the truth*, or, at best, with a bare *confession* to

' it. Who taking up with a formal going to meet-
 ' ings, and hearing what others have to say of the
 ' work and goodness of God in and to them, they
 ' shun the daily cross of Christ, whereby they should
 ' die daily to their earthly wills and vain affections,
 ' and overcome the world, the flesh and the devil.
 ' Oh! these are still their own, and not the LORD's;
 ' and gird themselves, and go whither, and do what,
 ' they list! For which cause they are lean, barren, and
 ' unfruitful to God, and to their own souls; and wor-
 ' ship him in the *form* only, and not the *power* of
 ' godliness; such must needs be weak in faith, ready
 ' to slip and start aside at every windy doctrine, or sen-
 ' sual temptation.

' Oh! my dear friends, let me prevail with you, in
 ' this my farewell to you, to turn your minds INWARD,
 ' and wait to feel your Redeemer, and meet him in
 ' the way of his righteous judgments; for there is no
 ' redemption but through judgment, nor conversion,
 ' but through righteousness. Come and be baptized
 ' by Christ; he will baptize you with his fire and Holy
 ' Ghost. He will scower and rinse you; for, believe
 ' me, his fan is still in his HAND, and he will, if you will
 ' let him, thoroughly purge his *floor*, viz. your HEARTS,
 ' and make all things clean and new there, by his Spi-
 ' rit and power. So will you come to find your interest
 ' in Christ, as you feel his workmanship and interest
 ' in and over you: and as you thus come to be related
 ' to Christ, the Heavenly Head, (by knowing him to
 ' be Head IN you) so you will come to be related to
 ' his body, the church, and see your proper member-
 ' ship and service therein; which I pray God effect, to
 ' his glory, and your comfort.

' And now to the whole family and flock of God, in
 ' this European part of the world, of the same commu-
 ' nion, according to the dispensation of God; be they
 ' young or old, high or low, rich or poor, wise or sim-
 ' ple, strong or weak, male or female, bond or free; I
 ' send this parting salutation of my most dear love in the
 ' TRUTH; beseeching you all to have me and mine in
 ' your

‘ your remembrance, not only when upon the mighty
 ‘ waters, but when in the solitary deserts of America,
 ‘ if it please the Lord to bring us safe thither: for I
 ‘ am not above the love and prayers of my dear bre-
 ‘ thren, knowing I need them, and have often found,
 ‘ by good experience, that they avail much with the
 ‘ Lord.

‘ I must leave you, but I can never FORGET you;
 ‘ for my love to you has been, even as David’s and
 ‘ Jonathan’s, above the love of women: and suffer
 ‘ me to say, that, to my power, I have from the first
 ‘ endeavoured to serve you (and my poor country too)
 ‘ and that at MY OWN *charges*, with an upright mind,
 ‘ however misunderstood and treated by some, whom
 ‘ I heartily forgive: Accept you my services; and
 ‘ ever love and remember, my dear friends and bre-
 ‘ thren,

‘ Your old, true, and affectionate

‘ Friend, Brother, and Servant in Christ Jesus,

‘ Cowes, Isle of Wight, weighing
 ‘ Anchor, the 3d of the 7th
 ‘ month, 1699.’

‘ WILLIAM PENN

On the ninth of the same month they set sail, and were near three months out at sea; Providence, by the tediousness of their voyage, protracting the time of their arrival, until the danger of a contagious distemper, then reigning in that country, was over. Upon their coming thither, they were received with the universal joy of the inhabitants.

Being now¹ determined to settle in his province, he applied himself to the offices of government, always preferring the good of the country and its inhabitants to his own private interest; rather remitting, than rigorously exacting his lawful revenues: so that under the influence of his paternal administration, the

¹ 1700.

province was in an easy and flourishing condition: when some persons here in England, taking advantage of his absence, were endeavouring to undermine both his and other proprietary governments, under the specious pretence of advancing the prerogative of the crown; and a bill for that purpose was brought into the house of lords. His friends, the proprietors and adventurers here, presently represented the hardship of their case to the parliament, soliciting time for his return to answer for himself; and accordingly giving him a speedy account how matters stood, they pressed his coming over forthwith; with which he seeing it necessary to comply, summoned an assembly to meet at Philadelphia, to whom, on the 15th of September 1701, he made the following speech, viz.

‘ FRIENDS,

‘ **Y**OU cannot be more concerned than I am at the
 ‘ frequency of your service in assembly, since
 ‘ I am very sensible of the trouble and charge it con-
 ‘ tracts upon the country: but the motives being con-
 ‘ sidered, and that you must have met of course in
 ‘ the next month, I hope you will not think it an hard-
 ‘ ship now.

‘ The reason that hastens your sessions, is the necessity
 ‘ I am under, through the endeavours of the enemies of
 ‘ the prosperity of this country, to go for England;
 ‘ where, taking advantage of my absence, some have at-
 ‘ tempted, by false or unreasonable charges, to under-
 ‘ mine our government, and thereby the true value of
 ‘ our labours and property. Government having been
 ‘ our first encouragement, I confess I cannot think of
 ‘ such a voyage without great reluctance of mind,
 ‘ having promised myself the quietness of a wilder-
 ‘ ness, and that I might stay so long at least with you,
 ‘ as to render every body entirely easy and safe. For
 ‘ my heart is among you as well as my body, what-
 ‘ ever some people may please to think; and no un-
 ‘ kindness or disappointment shall (with submission to
 ‘ God’s

‘ God’s providence) ever be able to alter my love to
 ‘ the country, and resolution to return and settle my
 ‘ family and posterity in it: but having reason to
 ‘ believe I can at this time best serve you and myself
 ‘ on that side of the water, neither the rudeness of the
 ‘ season, nor tender circumstances of my family, can
 ‘ over-rule my inclinations to undertake it.

‘ Think, therefore, (since all men are mortal) of
 ‘ some suitable expedient and provision for your safe-
 ‘ ty, as well in your privileges as property, and you
 ‘ will find me ready to comply with whatsoever may
 ‘ render us happy by a nearer union of our interests.

‘ Review again your laws; propose new ones that
 ‘ may better your circumstances; and what you do, do
 ‘ quickly, remembering that the parliament sits the
 ‘ end of the next month, and that the sooner I am
 ‘ there, the safer I hope we shall be here.

‘ I must recommend to your serious thoughts and
 ‘ care, the king’s letter to me for the assistance of
 ‘ New-York with three hundred and fifty pounds ster-
 ‘ ling, as a frontier government; and therefore ex-
 ‘ posed to a much greater expence in proportion to
 ‘ other colonies; which I called the last assembly to
 ‘ take into their consideration, and they were pleased,
 ‘ for the reasons then given, to refer to this.

‘ I am also to tell you the good news of the gover-
 ‘ nor of New-York, his happy issue of his conferences
 ‘ with the Five Nations of Indians, that he hath not
 ‘ only made peace with them, for the king’s subjects
 ‘ of that colony, but (as I had by some letters before
 ‘ desired him) for those of all other governments un-
 ‘ der the crown of England on the continent of Ame-
 ‘ rica, as also the nations of Indians within those re-
 ‘ spective colonies: which certainly merits our ac-
 ‘ knowledgments.

‘ I have done, when I have told you, that unani-
 ‘ mity and dispatch are the life of business, and that I
 ‘ desire and expect from you, for your own sakes, since
 ‘ it may so much contribute to the disappointment of
 ‘ those

‘ those that too long have fought the ruin of our
‘ young country.’

The Assembly's ADDRESS.

‘ May it please the PROPRIETARY and GOVERNOR,

‘ **W**E have this day in our assembly read thy
‘ speech, delivered yesterday in council; and
‘ having duly considered the same, cannot but be un-
‘ der a deep sense of sorrow for thy purpose of so
‘ speedily leaving us, and at the same time taking
‘ notice of thy paternal regard to us and our posterity,
‘ the freeholders of this province, and territories an-
‘ nexed, in thy loving and kind expressions of being
‘ ready to comply with whatsoever expedient and pro-
‘ visions we shall offer for our safety, as well in privi-
‘ leges as property, and what else may render us happy
‘ in a nearer union of our interests; not doubting the
‘ performance of what thou hast been so lovingly
‘ pleased to promise, we do in much humility, and as
‘ a token of our gratitude, return unto thee the un-
‘ feigned thanks of this house.

‘ Subscribed by order of the house,

‘ JOSEPH CROWDON, speaker.’

The next month he took shipping for England, and safely arrived at Portsmouth about the middle of December; and the same month came up to London: after his return, the bill, which, through his friends sollicitations, had been postponed the last sessions of parliament, was wholly dropped, and no farther progress made in that affair.

About two months after this, viz. on the eighth of the month called March 1701-2, King William died; and the princess Anne of Denmark ascended the throne, who began her reign with moderation and clemency, and declared for maintaining the act of toleration.

Our

Our author, being in the queen's favour, was often at court, and for his conveniency took lodgings at Kensington; where he wrote "More Fruits of Solitude," being a Second Part of Reflections and Maxims relating to the Conduct of Human Life." After which he removed to Knightsbridge, over against Hyde-park corner, where he resided for some years.

About this time, ^m a bill to prevent occasional conformity was brought into the house of commons; on which occasion he wrote a sheet entitled, "Considerations upon the Bill against Occasional Conformity."

In the year 1703, he wrote a preface to a book published by Dan. Philips, M. D. entitled, "*Vindiciae Veritatis*, being a Defence of the Quakers Principles, from the Misrepresentations of John Stillingfleet, a Clergyman in Lincolnshire:" and in the same year he published a preface to a collection of Charles Marshall's writings, entitled, "Zion's Travelers Comforted:" and in the next year a preface to the written labours of John Whitehead; all which the reader may find in the front of the books they were designed for.

Anno 1705, he wrote a short epistle, by way of exhortation, to his friends the Quakers, being as follows, viz.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

HOLD all your meetings in that which sat them up, the Heavenly power of God, both ministers and hearers; and live under it, and not above it, and the Lord will give you dominion over that which seeks to draw you again into captivity to the spirit of this world, under divers appearances: that the truth may shine through you, in righteousness and holiness, in self-denial, long-suffering, patience, and brotherly-kindness; so shall you approve yourselves the redeemed of the Lord, and his living wit-

'nesses in and to an evil generation. So prays your
' friend and brother through the many tribulations
' that lead to the rest and kingdom of God.

' W. PENN.'

In this year he again visited the meetings of his friends in the western parts of England; where he had good service, and his testimony was effectual to the information of many.

In the year 1706, he removed with his family to a convenient habitation, about a mile from Brentford, and eight from London, where he dwelt some years; and frequently attended the meeting at Brentford; which his friends, as well for the accommodation of his family, as the general service of their persuasion, then first appointed to be held there once a month.

In the year 1707, he was unhappily involved in a suit at law with the executors of a person who had been formerly his steward; against whose demands he thought both conscience and justice required his endeavours to defend himself. But his cause (though many thought him aggrieved) was attended with such circumstances, as that the court of chancery did not think it proper to relieve him; wherefore he was obliged to dwell in the Old Baily, within the rules of the Fleet, some part both of this and the next ensuing year, until such time as the matter in dispute was accommodated.

Now^a although the infirmities of old age began to visit him, and to lessen his abilities of continuing his service in the work of the ministry with his wonted alacrity; yet he travelled, as his strength and health would admit, into the west of England, as also the counties of Berks, Buckingham, Surry, and other places.

In the year 1710, the air near London not being agreeable to his declining constitution, he took a

^a 1709.

handsome

handsome seat at Rushcomb near Twyford in Buckinghamshire, where he had his residence during the remainder of his life.

- In the year 1711, the works of an ancient friend of his, John Banks, being ready for the press, he dictated to a person, that wrote it from his mouth (as he walked to and fro with his cane in his hand, and gave occasional answers to other matters intervening) the following preface, which being the last piece he published, and observable for its concise and pithy expressions, we here insert.

The PREFACE to JOHN BANKS'S JOURNAL.

• FRIENDLY READER,

• **T**HE labours of the servants of God ought always to be precious in the eyes of his people, and for that reason, the very fragments of their services are not to be lost, but gathered up for edification; and that is the cause we expose the following discourses to publick view: and I hope it will please God to make them effectual, to such as seriously peruse them; since we have always found the Lord ready to second the services of his worthies upon the spirits of the readers, not suffering that which is his own to go without a voucher in every conscience, I mean those divine truths it hath pleased him to reveal among his own children by his own blessed SPIRIT, without which no man can rightly perceive the things of God, or be truly spiritually-minded, which is life and peace. And this, indeed, is the only BENEFICIAL evidence of heavenly truths, which made that excellent apostle say in his day, “We know that we are of God, and that the whole world lieth in wickedness:” “For in that day, true religion and undefiled before God and the Father, consisted in visiting the fatherless and widows in their afflictions, and keeping unspotted from the
“ world;”

“ world;” ‘ not only a GODLY TRADITION of what
 ‘ others have enjoyed, but the EXPERIMENTAL EN-
 ‘ JOYMENT and knowledge thereof, by the operation
 ‘ of the DIVINE POWER in their own hearts, which
 ‘ makes up the inward Jew, and accomplished Chris-
 ‘ tian, whose praise is not of men but of God: such
 ‘ are Christians of CHRIST’S making, that can say
 ‘ with the apostle, “ It is not WE that live, but CHRIST
 “ that liveth *in* us,” ‘ dying daily to self, and rising
 ‘ up, through faith in the Son of God, to newness of
 ‘ life. Here *formality* bows to REALITY, *memory* to
 ‘ FEELING, *letter* to SPIRIT, and *form* to POWER;
 ‘ which brings to the *regeneration*, without which no
 ‘ man can inherit the kingdom of God; and by
 ‘ which he is enabled, in every estate, to cry, *Abba*,
 ‘ *Father*.

‘ Thou wilt see a great deal of this in the follow-
 ‘ ing author’s writings; and that he rightly began
 ‘ with a just distinction between *true wisdom* and the
 ‘ *fame* of wisdom; what was of *God*, and taught of
 ‘ *God*, and of *man*, and taught by *man*; which, at
 ‘ best, is a sandy foundation for religion to be built
 ‘ upon; or rather, the faith and hope of man, in re-
 ‘ ference to religion, and salvation by it. And, oh!
 ‘ that none, who make profession of the dispensation
 ‘ of the Spirit, may build beside the work of JESUS
 ‘ CHRIST in their own souls, in reference to his pro-
 ‘ phetical, priestly, and kingly office! In which re-
 ‘ gard, God, his Father, gave him as a tried stone,
 ‘ elect and precious, to build by and upon: concern-
 ‘ ing which great and glorious truth, we do most
 ‘ humbly beseech the Almighty, who is God of the
 ‘ spirits of all flesh, the Father of light and spirits,
 ‘ to ground and establish all his visited and convinced
 ‘ ones, that they may grow up an holy house and
 ‘ building to the Lord: so shall purity, peace and
 ‘ charity abound in the house and sanctuary that he
 ‘ hath pitched, and not man.

‘ Now,

‘ Now as to this worthy man, the author of the
 ‘ following treatises, I hope I may without offence
 ‘ say, his memorial is blessed, having known him
 ‘ above forty-four years, an heavenly minister of ex-
 ‘ perimental religion, of a sound judgment and pious
 ‘ practice, valiant for the truth upon the earth, and
 ‘ ready to serve all in the love and peace of the gos-
 ‘ pel. He was amongst the first in Cumberland that
 ‘ received the glad tidings of it, and then readily gave
 ‘ up, with other brethren, to declare to others what
 ‘ the Lord had done for their souls.

‘ Thus I first met him, and as I received his testi-
 ‘ mony through the favour of life, so I was kindly
 ‘ accepted and encouraged by him in the belief of
 ‘ the blessed testimony of the light, spirit, grace and
 ‘ truth of Christ in the inward parts, reproving, in-
 ‘ structing, reforming and redeeming those souls from
 ‘ the evil of the world that were obedient thereunto:
 ‘ here he was a strength to my soul, in the early days
 ‘ of my conviction; together with his dear and
 ‘ faithful friend, brother, and fellow-traveller, John
 ‘ Wilkinson of Cumberland, formerly a very zealous
 ‘ and able independent minister.

‘ And as I hope this piece of labour of our ancient
 ‘ friend and brother will find acceptance every where
 ‘ among God’s people; so I hope it will be more ef-
 ‘ pecially acceptable in the north, where he began
 ‘ and had his early services; and in the west, where
 ‘ they were witnesses of his care to preserve good or-
 ‘ der in the church.

‘ Now, reader, before I take my leave of thee, let
 ‘ me advise thee to hold thy religion in the SPIRIT,
 ‘ whether thou prayest, praisest, or ministerest to
 ‘ others; go forth in the ability God giveth thee;
 ‘ presume not to awaken thy Beloved before his time;
 ‘ be not thy own in thy performances, but the LORD’S;
 ‘ and thou shalt not hold the truth in unrighteous-
 ‘ ness, as too many do, but according to the oracle
 ‘ of God, that will never leave nor forsake them who
 ‘ will take counsel at it: which that all God’s people
 ‘ may

may do, is, and hath long been, the earnest desire
' and fervent supplication of

' Theirs and thy faithful friend in the Lord
' Jesus Christ,

' London, 23d of the 12th
' month, 1711.'

' W. PENN.'

In the year 1712, he was seized at distant times with three several fits, supposed to be apoplectick; by the last of which, though beyond all probability of expectation he survived it, his understanding and memory were so impaired, as to render him incapable of publick action for the future: nevertheless we shall continue our annals to the close of his days, from the accounts an intimate friend hath left of his condition at the visits he yearly made him.

In the third month 1713, the aforesaid friend being at his house some days, found him to appearance pretty well in health, and cheerful of disposition, but defective in memory; so that though he could relate many past transactions, yet could he not readily recollect the names of absent persons; nor could he deliver his words so readily as heretofore; yet many sensible and favourable expressions came from him, rendering his company even yet acceptable, and manifesting the religious settlement and stability of his mind.

At a second visit made him in the spring, 1714, he was very little altered from what he had been the last year. The friend accompanied him in his chariot to Reading meeting, where he spoke several sensible sentences, but was not able to say much. At parting he took leave of his friends with much tenderness and affection.

In the year 1715, his memory became yet more deficient; but his love to, and his sense of, religious enjoyments, apparently continued; for he still often went in his chariot to the meeting at Reading, and there sometimes uttered short, but very sound and favourable
expres-

expressions. One morning, while the friend was at his house, being about to go to the meeting, he expressed his desires to the Lord, that they might receive some good from him. This year he went to the Bath, but the waters there proved of no benefit to his long-continued distemper.

In the year 1716, the said friend and another went to visit him, at whose coming he seemed glad; and though he could not then remember their names, yet, by his answers, it appeared he knew their persons. He was now much weaker than last year, but still expressed himself sensibly at times, and particularly took his leave of them at their going away in these words, 'My love is with you: the Lord preserve you, and remember me in the everlasting covenant!'

▷ In the fifth month 1717, being the last visit the said friend made him, he found his understanding so much weakened, as that he scarce knew his old acquaintance, and his bodily strength so much decayed, that he could not well walk without leading; nor scarce express himself intelligibly.

After a continued and gradual declension for about six years, his body drew near to its dissolution; and on the thirtieth day of the fifth month, 1718, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, his soul, prepared for a more glorious habitation, forsook the decayed tabernacle: which was committed to the earth on the fifth of the sixth month following, at Jordans in Buckinghamshire, where his former wife, and several of his family, had been before interred.

As he had led in this life a course of patient continuance in well-doing, and, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, had been enabled to overcome the world, the flesh and the devil, the grand enemies of man's salvation; he is, we doubt not, admitted to that everlasting inheritance, which God hath prepared for his people, and made partaker of the promise of Christ, Rev. iii. 21. "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne."

TRUTH

TRUTH EXALTED:

IN A

SHORT but SURE TESTIMONY

AGAINST

All those Religions, Faiths, and Worships, that have
been formed and followed in the *Darkness of Apostasy*:

AND

For that GLORIOUS LIGHT which is now risen, and shines
forth, in the Life and Doctrine of the despised QUAKERS,
as the alone good old Way of Life and Salvation.

P R E S E N T E D

To Princes, Priests, and People, that they may repent,
believe and obey.

By WILLIAM PENN,

Whom Divine Love constrains in an holy Contempt, to trample on
Egypt's Glory, not fearing the King's Wrath, having beheld the
Majesty of Him who is invisible.

TRUTH EXALTED, &c.

TO PRINCES, PRIESTS, and PEOPLE.

JEHOVAH, the everlasting power, that spans out the heavens with his span, and measures the waters in the hollow of his hand, before whom all nations, tongues and people, are less than the drop to the ocean, or the sand to the sea-shore; who said, "Let all things be," and they were, and by the same word of his might, preserves them to this very day, is holy, merciful, and just; and, as the most excellent part of the whole creation, made he man, "the image of himself," by investing him with that righteous principle, and innocent life, which gave him dominion and authority over all his works, allowing him to eat of every tree, saving that of the knowledge of good and evil, of which if he did eat, he should certainly die.

Happy had it been for Adam and his posterity, had he obeyed God's commands; but transgression by disobedience getting entrance, he soon died to his innocent state, in which God created him, and became alive in the dominion sin had over him, being now as one without law: in whose fallen state all nations have been, and are, (let their professions seem never so great, and their sacrifices never so many) that live in the disobedient nature, and so strangers to that immortality and life eternal, the first Adam became dead and darkened to by his transgression, and which the second Adam raises to the knowledge and possession of, by the power of his quickening spirit; yet where the devil (that subtil serpent) hath not totally extinguished the notion of a God, and the necessity of his

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being worshipped, it has been rather his interest than disservice, to put the selfish part of the creature upon sacrificing, wickedly insinuating that none can be freed from sin, and that the performing of rites, duties, and ceremonies, is all God requires, and what is necessary to procure acceptance with him. Thus it was that murdering Cain became a sacrificer, whose sacrifice God rejected, because offered in the fallen, unrighteous, and accursed nature.

Such also were those generations who drew near to God with their lips, and to whom he said of old, “ To
 “ what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices un-
 “ to me; I am full of burnt-offerings, bring no more
 “ vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me;
 “ the new moons and sabbaths; the calling of the
 “ assemblies I cannot away with, it is iniquity; even
 “ the solemn meeting: I am weary to bear them; and
 “ when you spread forth your hands, I will hide mine
 “ eyes; yea, when you make many prayers, I will
 “ not hear, your hands are full of blood: wash you,
 “ make you clean, put away the evil of your doings,”
 &c. Isa. i. 11, 13, 14, 15, 16.

Therefore, O ye princes, priests, and people, the solid, necessary, and weighty question I have to ask you all, in the dread and fear of the everlasting, holy, Lord God Almighty, (by whose eternal Spirit the sense of your present state and condition I perfectly have received) is this: what nature, what heart, what spirit, and what ground is it in which your religions, faiths, works, words and worships stand and grow? is it the divine, not the fallen nature? is it the broken, not the stony heart? is it the contrite, not the formal spirit? is it the gospel increasing good, not old Adam's corrupt, thorny ground? for this know, that no performances but by clean hands, and a pure heart, from whence evil doings are put away, can give acceptance with the pure God.

Come, answer me first, you papists, whose popes for many hundred years have sat exalted in the hearts
 of

of nations, (God's temple) above all that is called God: what scripture ever made a pope, or gave authority to any one to lord it over the consciences of others, since Christ enjoins that Christians should be brethren? and by what warrantable tradition can he make, dispose, and depose civil empires? whence came your creeds, but from factious and corrupted councils, dyed in the blood of those who refused conformity? what scriptures of the holy prophets, and apostles, or any tradition for the first three hundred years, mention a mass-book, speak of Peter's chair, and a successive infallibility, or say a wafer is corporally the flesh, blood and bones, which suffered without Jerusalem? And where did they teach to adore images, consume many thousands and millions in building, carving, and painting outward temples, after Jerusalem (the type) was destroyed, whilst thousands of poor families languished through extreme poverty? when did they enjoin baby-baptism, churching of women, marrying by priests, holy water to frighten the devil, hallowing of bells to scare evil spirits, making and worshipping of crosses, erecting of altars? and where did they command bowings, institute musicks, appoint holy days, canonize saints, chaffer and merchandize about indulgences, pray for the dead, preach, or write for a purgatory? and what book, or chapter, in the old or new testament, mentions the degrees of popes, cardinals, archbishops, deans, prebends, Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, Ursulines, Capuchines, Benedictines, with other such like lazy nuns and friars, for the edification of Christ's church? but above all, when and where did they authorize, or indulge your cruel, persecuting, whipping, racking, inquisition, murdering spirit? whose popes, faith, church-government, and whole religion, were founded, and are maintained by inhuman bloodshed, as your own histories plainly manifest. Who gave life to these things but the devil, "who was a murderer from the beginning?"

Thus have you papists, through many generations, “received for doctrine the precepts of men,”^a who for much speaking, and sacrificing of your own inventions, expect to be heard, whilst in the lustful, wanton, ignorant, and killing nature, which has been always shedding the precious blood of those whom God in every age raised to testify against your superstitions and will-worships: therefore woes from God Almighty to that Romish whore, who has corrupted the nations, “and sits upon a scarlet-coloured beast
“ full of names of blasphemy, drunk with the blood
“ of saints, and martyrs of Jesus^b; the hour of her
“ desolation is nigh, and in the cup which she hath
“ filled, shall it be filled unto her double; for strong
“ is the Lord God of hosts who judgeth her.”

Come now, you that are called Protestants, however denominated or distinguished, who profess the scriptures for the rule of life and doctrine, stand your trial by them: and first those who are called Episcopalians, who date your religion from the martyrs: that those who first protested against the darkness and gross idolatry of the popish antichrist, were directed thereto, and supported therein, by the mighty power of God, is not denied; and that the seals of blood they set to recommend their testimonies to posterity, are with us in high esteem, I openly affirm and declare: but that you of the church of England (who now persecute us) have any more to do with them than had the Jews and Pharisees, who crucified the Lord of life,^c with Abraham, Moses, and the prophets, is as positively disowned: for as they were out of the life and spirit of those holy men, (though building and garnishing their sepulchres, and making great profession with their words) insomuch as that they slew those whom God sent in the same spirit, to preach a farther glory, and to discover a more excellent way; so are you out of the power and spirit your forefathers lived

^a Mat. xv. 9. ^b Rev. xvii. 3, 4, 6. Chap. xviii, 6, 8. ^c Acts
vii. 52.

and died in, professing their words, but persecuting the same spirit in others, and crucifying it in yourselves: no wonder therefore you have made so little progress since the first dawning of reformation, being not yet got out of the borders of Babylon's form, and altogether in her lustful, proud, persecuting, and wicked nature: for have not you, protestant princes, condemned that in others, which you have and do allow in yourselves, contrary to your forefathers protestations? Did you not return severe persecutions, not only upon the heads of the Roman Catholics in Queen Elizabeth's time, who esteemed it antichristian in them, but even your fellow-protestants, who through zeal for God, declared against your backslidings? Witness her severity, and what followed in the reigns of James, and the deceased Charles, but more particularly the many thousands now of late that have been clubbed, bruised, imprisoned, exiled, poisoned to death by stinking dungeons, and ruined in their outward estates, contrary to law, christian or human: therefore well may I take up the lamentation and reproof that was of old, "Ye make offenders for a word, and lay
 " a snare for him that reproveth in the gate: ye turn
 " aside the just for a thing of nought," and lay bur-
 " dens upon the backs of the righteous, whilst evil-
 " doers pass unpunished; you store up violence in
 " your palaces, and many are the oppressed that are
 " amongst you: yet do not your priests prophesy
 " smooth things, that sew pillows under your arms,
 " and cry peace? who provoke you to slay those, by
 " executing cruel acts, that should not die, and preach
 " safety to them that should not live, like greedy
 " dogs, shepherds that cannot understand, they all
 " look for gain from their quarters; they teach for
 " hire; they divine for money, and you all judge for re-
 " wards;" for all which abominations God is departed,
 " vision is ceased, the sun is gone down over you,

* Isa. xxix. 21. Amos iii. 10. Jer. xxiii. 17. Ezek. xiii. 19, 20.
 Isa. lvi. 10, 11. Mic. iii. 5, 6, 11.

“ and your day is turned into thick darkness :” therefore it is you deny the necessity as well as the present enjoyment of revelation to any, though without it, as Christ saith, “ no man can know God, whom to know “ is life eternal ;” and place the ground of divine knowledge in human arts and sciences, that thereby you may ingross a function to yourselves, and keep up your trade of yearly gain upon the poor people; preaching sin for term of life, thereby rendering invalid the glorious power of the second Adam, and indulging people in transgression; though “ he that committeth “ sin is of the devil, and without holiness none shall “ see God’; ministers he never sent, but were commissioned by men, void of the Holy Ghost, and therefore ye profit not the people; a badge inseparable to lying prophets, who run in their own name.

Come and tell me now, ye of the church of England, that say the scriptures are your rule, where do they own such persecutors, false prophets, tithe-mongers, deniers of revelations, opposers of perfection, men-pleasers, time-servers, unprofitable teachers (witness the abominations of the land) extollers of human learning, as the only way to know God; admirers of universities, (signal places for idleness, looseness, profaneness, prodigality, and gross ignorance;) and where do we find the prophets, apostles, and servants of the Lord, to live in worldly pomp, possess hundreds and thousands a year, be called lords of their brethren, and exercise civil and spiritual jurisdiction over the bodies and souls of Christians in their days? Whence came your forms of prayers, and church-government; from the scriptures of truth, and the practice of the primitive Christians, or the mass-book, and popish canons? Where is it that mass-houses are called churches? and what precedent do you find for litanies, responses, singing, choristers, organs, altars, bowing, surplices, square caps, hoods, rochets, fonts, baby-baptism, holy days, (as you call them) with much

* John xvii. 3. † John iii. 8. Heb. xii. 14. Jer. xxiii. 32.
more

are never so corrupt, vile, and polluted in themselves, yet are they reconciled to, and justified in the sight of God, by his personal righteousness imputed unto them, and not from a work of grace or regeneration in the creature; therefore no wonder at your vehement cries against a state of perfect separation from sin, as being a dangerous doctrine, who preach acceptance with the holy God, whilst in an unholy state. You generally scoff at revelation as being ceased; most of you also abetting God to have ordained a remnant absolutely to salvation, and consequently making sin as well as torment unavoidably necessary to the major part; whereby the glorious God of mercy is represented more infamously unjust than the worst of men; doctrines of devils indeed, and grounds of all looseness and rantism; and the pleaders, and fighters for liberty of conscience when oppressed, are the greatest oppressors when in power, not minding the end of God's loving kindness. Because of your wanton neglect is your day darkened, and your sun set, and grovelling you are in beggarly elements, imitations, and shadows of the heavenly good things, relating to the dispensation of the second covenant; hoping by your many duties to be heard, and find acceptance, whilst very strangers to the covering of God's spirit, and ignorant of him (whom to know is life eternal) from the revelation of his eternal spirit, and operation of his mighty power, but from the conceivings and apprehensions of other men, and books well reputed; whereby God's grace and light have lost their office of leading and teaching, and thus true counsel becomes darkened, the fountain shut, the book sealed, and you in this state strangers unto God, so that you perish for want of sound knowledge: for I declare and testify on the behalf of God's everlasting way to life, and against you all, that you are yet in the man's spirit, which works not God's will and righteousness, being found helpers of the mighty pure and unchangeable principle of light, in which God only did, does, and will manifest himself unto the sons and daughters

to die, at least never to be judged? O what swearing, what uncleanness, what drunkenness, what profanation, what vanity, what pride, what expence, what patching, what painting, what lascivious intrigues, what wanton appointments, what publick unclean houses, what merry masks, what lustful insinuating treats at your plays, parks, mulberry and spring-gardens, with whatsoever else may please the lustful eye, and gratify the wanton mind! Is not this your case and practice, ye gallants, young and old, men and women? and by these courses, have not debts surprized your estates, poverty plenty, diseases health, debauchery chastity? Whole families ruined both in soul and body; yea, such a deluge of intemperance has so overwhelmed the nations, that hard it is to light upon sobriety and virtue.

Well, my friends, when I ruminate on these things, my heart affects mine eye, and grief overcomes my soul for your sakes: repent therefore, O ye protestants, or else know, “that for all these things God Almighty “will bring you to judgment¹,” and in the day that his indignation shall be kindled, your religion of words shall fly away, and your Lord Lord-cryings shall be rejected, because you were strangers to the spiritual nature (though babblers of the name) of true christianity, and therefore shall ye perish by the sword.

Now as for you separatists of divers names, although I shall not disallow the zeal that once you had, yet must I on God’s behalf bear my testimony concerning you; therefore be it known unto all, “that you are “teaching and receiving for doctrine the traditions of “men,” running and striving in your own spirits, “compassing yourselves with the sparks of your own “fire,^m” being not yet come to stand still and know that will done on earth which is done on heaven: you tell people, Christ Jesus has suffered and satisfied for sins past, present, and to come; and that though they

¹ Mat. vii. 21. ^m Isa. l. 11.

are never so corrupt, vile, and polluted in themselves, yet are they reconciled to, and justified in the sight of God, by his personal righteousness imputed unto them, and not from a work of grace or regeneration in the creature; therefore no wonder at your vehement cries against a state of perfect separation from sin, as being a dangerous doctrine, who preach acceptance with the holy God, whilst in an unholy state. You generally scoff at revelation as being ceased; most of you also abetting God to have ordained a remnant absolutely to salvation, and consequently making sin as well as torment unavoidably necessary to the major part; whereby the glorious God of mercy is represented more infamously unjust than the worst of men; doctrines of devils indeed, and grounds of all looseness and rantism; and the pleaders, and fighters for liberty of conscience when oppressed, are the greatest oppressors when in power, not minding the end of God's loving kindness. Because of your wanton neglect is your day darkened, and your sun set, and grovelling you are in beggarly elements, imitations, and shadows of the heavenly good things, relating to the dispensation of the second covenant; hoping by your many duties to be heard, and find acceptance, whilst very strangers to the covering of God's spirit, and ignorant of him (whom to know is life eternal) from the revelation of his eternal spirit, and operation of his mighty power, but from the conceivings and apprehensions of other men, and books well reputed; whereby God's grace and light have lost their office of leading and teaching, and thus true counsel becomes darkened, the fountain shut, the book sealed, and you in this state strangers unto God, so that you perish for want of sound knowledge: for I declare and testify on the behalf of God's everlasting way to life, and against you all, that you are yet in the man's spirit, which works not God's will and righteousness, being found helpers of the mighty against that pure and unchangeable principle of light, grace and life, in which God only did, does, and will reveal and manifest himself unto the sons and daughters

ters of men, for which cause you are yet in your ups and downs, tossed to and fro, not knowing the “rock” of ages, and foundation of many generations, which “is that only holy seed, wherein the duties and performances of all nations only can be blessed,”^a and from whence proceeds that pure, righteous, and immortal birth, to whom is the promise of an everlasting inheritance; but are sticking in your own imaginations, and patching out a peace unto yourselves from your duties, performances, and the imitations of weak times and seasons in some perishing observations, that no way relate to the nature of the “pure spiritual and internal kingdom of peace, righteousness, and joy in the Holy Ghost^b :” therefore well may I say, as was said of old, “Wo unto thee Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven; for if the mighty works that have been done in thee, had been done in Tyre, Sidon, or Sodom, they would have repented in dust and ashes, and would have remained unto this day^c.”

Wherefore, O ye zealous professors, who in the spirit of a man are striving to comprehend the mystery of God, unless ye repent and believe in “that light, wherewith Christ hath enlightened every man^d,” that you may attain to the true discerning of the spirit and nature, in which you live and worship, that so you may come to witness the work and will of God, “it shall be more tolerable for them, in the day that God shall judge the secrets of men, by Jesus Christ; God will make them of the synagogue of Satan, who say they are Christians, and are not^e.”

Therefore unto you, princes, priests, and people, whether papists or protestants, or any other separated way, that are in your idolatry, superstition, carnal ordinances, and will-worship; whose faith in, and fear towards God, are grounded on other mens apprehensions, persuasions and precepts, and not from the teach-

^a Gen. xii. 13. ^b Gal. iii. 8. ^c Rom. xiv. 19. ^d Mat. xi. 23, 24.

^e John i. 9. ^f Rev. iii. 9.

ing of God's Holy Spirit or grace; to you all am I constrained to sound forth and proclaim, that unto us, the most despised, afflicted and forsaken, by all the families of the earth, is a child born, "unto us a son" is given, we call him wonderful, counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting father, the prince of peace; of the increase of whose government, there shall be no end": this is he the prophet stiles, "a light unto the gentiles, and for salvation unto the ends of the earth"; unto whom John Baptist bore this certain record, "that he was the true light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world"; who also gave this testimony of himself, that "whoever followed him should not abide in darkness, but have the light of life, and the blood of Jesus (saith the beloved disciple) cleanseth us from all sin".

"This is the second Adam, the quickening spirit, the Lord from heaven, the new and spiritual man, the heavenly bread, the true vine; the flesh and blood that was given for the life of the world; the second covenant; the law written in the heart and spirit, put in the inward parts; the way in which the fool cannot err; the truth, before deceit was; the life that's hid in God, eternal in the heavens, glorified before the world began; the power, the wisdom, the righteousness of God; the plant of renown; the royal seed that bruise the serpent's head; in short, that grace which hath appeared unto all men, teaching them to deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live godly and soberly in this present world". He stands at the door of every heart, and knocks, if by any means he may be heard and have admittance, whereby God's promise may be fulfilled, that God will dwell with men; and

^a Isa. ix. 6, 7. Chap. xlix. 6. ^b John i. 7, 8, 9. Chap. viii. 12.
^c 1 John i. 7. 1 Cor. xv. 47. ^d John vi. 51, 52, 53. Isa. xlii. 6. Jer. xxxi. 32, 33, 34. John xiv. 6. 1 Cor. i. 20.
 Ezek. xxxiv. 29. Gen. iii. 15. Tit. ii. 11, 12.

my testimony is, that a remnant have obeyed this heavenly voice, and now walk in this pure light, in which God Almighty is known to tabernacle with them*: therefore, in the fear of God eternal, do I cry aloud unto you all, who are wandering in the by-paths of mens inventions, traditions and precepts, to empty your hearts and minds of those unprofitable guests, that better entertainment than a manger may be had to receive this Lord of glory; the mighty prophet, all must hear or die, "who searcheth the heart, trieth the reins, and is able to tell you all that ever you did": —this is the Quakers Christ, and Son of the living God, whom we are not ashamed to confess before men, as that glorious light, which since we have believed and walked in, according to our distinct measures, we have not only received a perfect discovery of all the will-worships, pollutions, and vain fashions, or customs that have been brought forth by, and stand in the dark, lustful, and apostatized nature; but as we have continued in an holy watchfulness, to observe and obey its righteous dictates; God's mighty power we have and do experience to subdue and redeem therefrom; yea, that spiritual blood is sensibly felt, to "sprinkle and cleanse the conscience from dead works".

And to you all must I declare, that by no other way did I ever receive the knowledge of the least evil, or ability to conquer it, than in this universal light, who is given for a captain and a leader out of all the by-paths and petty persuasions of men, through judgment that purifies, and the red sea of troubles, trials, and afflictions, unto the rest which is peace and undefiled: "this is God's beloved Son, his only begotten Son": I proclaim, another name there is, and another way to peace, than that which is preached by the world in the present age.

* Ps.

o. Job

ch.

this ancient gospel to preach to them that dwell upon the earth, and are in their earthly nature, wisdom, and worship, “crying with a loud voice, Fear God, “and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come^a:” therefore away, away with all your own ways, works and worships, that are grounded upon mens command, and fallible apprehensions, whose breath is in their nostrils; and no more do homage according to such prescriptions, but fear and dread the living Lord God of heaven and earth: “for if the “righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly “and sinner appear? but wo, anguish, tribulation “and sorrow shall come upon every soul that remains “in sin.^b”

Therefore be warned, ye dark and idolatrous Papists, ye superstitious and loose Protestants, ye zealous, yet carnal professors, to come out of all your own ways, works, worships, nature, spirit and practice: in silence and fear to wait in this glorious light which God Almighty has displayed, and raised us contemned Quakers to walk in, and testify of, in these last ages; that by believing therein, and circumspectly adhering thereto, you may come to experience the rising of that eternal power which overcomes and removes transgression, that hath so long separated between you and your God; hereby shall you receive sound judgment and heavenly wisdom.

This will not destroy, but fulfil the scriptures of truth, and so shall you know the baptism that is from above, and eat the heavenly bread, and drink the spiritual wine at Christ's table, in his kingdom, which the saints of old saw the coming of before they tasted of death; “for the kingdom of God is within^c:”—here all old things, covenants, signs, ordinances, and whatever perisheth with the using, shall be done away; and the everlasting unchangeable substance witnessed; and no more shall you profess religion, or perform worship from the imagining and transgressing nature,

^a Rev. xiv. 6, 7. ^b 1 Pet. iv. 18. ^c Luke xvii. 20, 21.

but from a certain sense of God's own operation; so shall your faith stand in that power the gates of hell can never prevail against: for this I once more am necessitated to declare, by virtue of the sound knowledge given me of God, that whilst you are fulfilling the lusts of the flesh, and walking after your own will and imaginations, you are altogether strangers to the yoke, to the daily cross, and self-denying life; but are yet the corrupt ground, and evil tree, which bringeth forth evil fruits, thorns, briars, and sour grapes: "be ye undeceived, God will not be mocked; such as you sow, such shall you reap^d:"—

Wherefore I intreat, advise, and warn you all, before the day of your visitation be shut up, in the eternal withdrawings of God's love, and revelation of his dreadful, endless vengeance, O ye idolatrous, superstitious, carnal, proud, wanton, unclean, mocking and persecuting princes, priests and people, to repent; return, return, believe and obey this light, which manifests and reproves all your evil deeds, that in it you may know your redemption from the captivity of sin effectually wrought.

O tremble and quake with the prophet Habakkuk, you who scoff at Quakers, "that you may all rest in the day of trouble." Hab. iii. 16.

But if you shall still go on to rebel against the reproofs and instructions of this holy light, and despise and persecute the children of it; be it known to you all, that before the brightness of its glory shall your shadows vanish, your imitations fly away, your beggarly elements melt, and you shall die in your sins.

Nor shall we be solicitous what your intentions are concerning us, well knowing Him, in whom we have believed, "to be much greater in us than he that is in the world^e," who in love hath called us out of it, and we doubt not will by his everlasting arm of strength defend and preserve us over all opposition,

^d Job iv. 8. Gal. vi. 7. 8. ^e 2 Tim. i. 12. 1 John iv. 4.

and by us exalt his name, truth, and salvation unto the ends of the earth.

Therefore let the winds of imagination blow, the storms of persecution beat, and the sea of raging malice foam: yea, “ though the fig-tree shall not blossom, neither fruit be in the vine; though the labour of the olive fail, and the fields yield not their meat; though the flock be cut off from the fold, and there be no herd in the stalls;” though nations should combine against us, and multitudes assemble themselves to our overthrow;—yet, be it reported to the nations, and let it be told unto the people, that we shall still confide and rejoice in that everlasting holy God Almighty, Lord of hosts, and King of saints, who hath gathered us, and therefore is by us, over all things in heaven, and things on earth, blessed and renowned for ever!

A cautionary POSTSCRIPT to the People of England.

FRIENDS,

WHILST you have a day, prize it, and whilst you have the light, believe in it; for this is the word of the Lord God, that made heaven and earth, to you all; the time is at hand, that he that is unrighteous, must be unrighteous still. Be not deceived, put not the day far from you; neither cry, the Lord is on our side; for his indignation is ready to be revealed, and destruction is at the door.

Calamity, pining, and distress, is coming upon you, yea, a consumption is decreed, and trouble, perplexity, and terrible desolation; and what hand shall stop it? for the Lord God of hosts is arising, to avenge himself of his enemies, and to ease himself of the cruel oppressor of his righteous seed; yea, the mighty he will humble, and the proud shall be laid low. He

† Hab. iii. 17, 18.

will

will smite the wanton with paleness, and the despiser shall perish off the earth; and all the instruments of wickedness and oppression will he dash in pieces; and you shall know, that the Majesty which dwells on high is on our side, and that the nations of them who are saved shall walk in obedience to the light.

But unto such as believe in the light, and live in the daily cross, who have forsaken either father, mother, sister, brother, house, land, husband or wife, for this blessed testimony; and that through the good report and bad report are journeying on, towards an everlasting inheritance: blessings, honour, immortality, and eternal life, from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

I am not of this world, but seek a country
eternal in the heavens.

Newgate in London,
the 7th of the 2d
month, 1671.

W I L L I A M P E N N.

THE

T H E

SANDY FOUNDATION SHAKEN;

O R,

Those so generally believed and applauded

D O C T R I N E S,

Of	{	One God, subsisting in three distinct and	}	Refuted.
		separate Persons,		
		The Impossibility of God's pardoning		
		Sinners, a plenary Satisfaction,		
		The Justification of impure Persons, by		
		an imputative Righteousness,		

From the Authority of Scripture Testimonies, and
right Reason.

By **WILLIAM PENN,**

A Builder on that Foundation which cannot be moved.

But to us there is but one God the Father, of whom are all
Things. 1 Cor. viii. 6.

There is a God like unto
him, he hath not his Anger
like him. Micah vii.

What pardoneth Iniquity? He
will, because he delighteth in

Exod. xxiii. 7.

1668.

To the Unprejudiced R E A D E R.

IT was the fault of some in ancient times, that they made void God's law by mens traditions, and certainly I may now assume the same complaint; for whilst I take a serious prospect of the spiritual nature and tendency of the second covenant, which God Almighty, in the fulness of time, by his prophets, prophesied to make and perfect; and also the accomplishment thereof by Jesus Christ, and what was brought to pass amongst the primitive believers; methinks I do not only see an utter abolishment of ceremonial worships, but the inscribing that spiritual law on the heart, and infusion of holy fear to the inward parts, whereby each person became capacitated to know so much of God, as suited with his present state, from an infallible demonstration in himself, and not on the slender grounds of mens lo-here interpretations, or lo-there; for the kingdom of God is within, where himself must be the teacher of his people: but on the other hand, when from the noise of every party's pretensions to and contentions for their own way, as most infallible, I am induced to an impartial examination of them, alas! how have all adulterated from the purity both of scripture record, and primitive example! receiving for unquestionable doctrines, the fallible apprehensions, and uncertain determinations of such councils, whose faction, prejudice, and cruelty, soon paralleled the foregoing heathenish persecutions; and yet that the results of persons so incompetently qualified, should at this day in their authority remain unquestioned by the nations, is matter both of astonishment and pity; but an implicit faith has ever been the consequence of ignorance, idleness, and fear, being strong impediments to a judicious enquiry how far professed and imposed opi-

nions have their consistency with reason, and the true religion. But that which most of all deserves a lamentation is, that Protestants, whose better arguments have confuted the plea of such as made tradition and mens prescriptions unquestionable in circumstantials, should themselves, by print and practice, so openly declare and contend for its authority in essentials; as must be obvious to any that observe their zealous anathemas against whomsoever refuse a compliance with them in doctrines, manifestly bottomed upon mens nice inventions.

This is the right state of the controversy that is maintained by us (contemptibly called Quakers) against the world, and the undoubted reason of our severe treatment at its hands; the end of God Almighty's raising us, being for no other purpose, than to declare, that which our eyes have seen, our ears heard, and which our hands have handled of the Eternal Word, in opposition to the private opinions, conjectures, and interpretations of men concerning God and religion, that all people might thereby be reduced to faith in and obedience to the universal grace which brings salvation; which as it only can restore sound judgment concerning God, and effect redemption from iniquity, so its being relinquished by men, was the very ground both of their division in judgment, and corruption in manners.

That this hath been, and is our case, I shall produce an instance, which is indeed the occasion of this treatise.

Two persons lately of Thomas Vincent's auditory in Spital-fields, (who goes under the notion of a presbyter) being desirous to prove all things, and to hold fast the best, visited our meeting, to understand if we were as really deserving blame, as represented by our enemies; where it then pleased divine goodness to visit them with the call of his light, from the inventions, carnal observations, will-worship, and vain conversation of those to whom they were formerly related; that they might be made children of the day;
and

and though its appearance might be small, yet sufficient to discover them to have been inhabitants of the night, and can never be rejected, but it shall bring that condemnation which shall farther testify it to be of God.

But their relinquishing his congregation so incensed this presbyterian preacher, as that his peevish zeal transported him beyond not only the moderation of Christianity, but the civility of education, venting his folly and prejudice much to this purpose, that he had as lieve they should go to a bawdy-house, as to frequent the Quakers meetings, because of their erroneous and damnable doctrines. And pointing to the window said, If there should stand a cup of poison, I would rather drink it than suck in their damnable doctrines. He farther expressed himself in this manner to one of them: If ever you go again, I will give you up, and God will give you up, that you may believe a lie, and be damned. Which storms of foul and railing accusation, proving ineffectual to shipwreck that little grain of faith, his hearers, as forgetting they hold their preaching by connivance, and the many appeals made by their non-conforming brethren, for an indulgence, came with this caution to the pater-familias, (or he that was both husband and father to the concerned parties) that he would exercise his authority, as well to refuse them to all Quaker-visitants, as prohibit them the liberty of their consciences in frequenting our meetings.

All which we could not for the truth-sake let pass in silence, and therefore did require him to let us have a publick meeting, in which we might have liberty to answer on the behalf both of ourselves and principles; which after some demur was granted, the day he appointed, and at the second hour in the afternoon. But that he might not want applause of many voices, and doubtless to prevent our friends, (as I am informed) bespoke his usual auditory to be there at one; and, as a man that would not over-spend himself, or incur a nonplus for want of seconds, he had

his third and fourth, to wit, Thomas Danfon, Thomas Doolittle, and ——— Maddocks, who at their times (and often out of them) did interpose, to whom George Whitehead mostly answered; nor had there any thing been spoken by another but from their own example.

The matter in controversy will be related in the beginning of this treatise, as a necessary prelude, or introduction to the following discourse; the manner of it was so gross, that I know not how to represent it better, than by the levity and rudeness of some prize; laughing, hissing, shoving, striking, and stigmatizing us with the opprobrious terms of confident fellow, impudent villain, blasphemers, &c. And, as the usual refuge of shallow persons (when they have little else to say, to prepossess their hearers with prejudice against the principles of such as do oppose them) he questioned much whether I was not some Jesuit; not remembering, or at least unwilling to let the people know, that none have been, nor are more instant in the vindication of that doctrine he and his brother did assert, (to wit, God subsisting in three distinct persons) than the Jesuits, so that if I should not as well reflect a scandal upon their learning by a comparison, as he did upon my principle, I could more truly invert jesuitism upon himself: in short, they neither would keep to scripture-terms themselves, nor suffer it in any others; but looking upon George Whitehead's explanation of their terms, and reduction of their matter (if possible) to a scripture-sense (thereby fitting it to the auditors apprehension) to be an indirect way of answering (as that which nakedly did expose their traditional folly to the vulgar) T. V. in an abrupt manner fell to his prayer, in which he falsely, and with many strangely-affected whines, accused us for blasphemers unto God; and that he might prevent the clearing of ourselves, he desired the people, when he had finished, to be gone, giving them an example by his and three brethrens retreat: but we being desirous farther to inform the people of
our

our innocency, they did not only (as before) endeavour to pull us down, but put the candles out, though several persons, of good esteem, continued whilst we spoke in vindication of ourselves from the invectives of our adversaries.

The people still remaining undispersed, T. V. came very palely down the stairs (having a candle in his hand) requiring their dismissal, at which time he promised us, at our request, another meeting; but as one that knew not well what he said, or never purposed to perform what he promised, has given us since to understand, he cannot in conscience spare us so much time; yet to satisfy G. W. and myself, in private, he could agree; which surely cannot be termed another meeting, since then it must relate to the preceding one: but how near the relation is betwixt an accusation before hundreds, and a satisfaction before none, must needs be obvious to every unbiassed person:—our right should have been altogether as publick as our wrong:—for which cause we were necessitated to visit his meeting, where, on a lecture-day, (after a continued silence during all his worship) we modestly intreated we might be cleared from those unjust reflections before his congregation, leaving a disputation (if he could not then attend it) to some more seasonable opportunity: but as one, who resolved injustice to mens reputation, as well as cowardice, in baulking a defence of his own principles, he slunk most shamefully away; nor would any there, though urged to it, assume his place to vindicate his practice towards us, or his doctrines then delivered.

Reader, what is thy opinion of this savage entertainment? Would Socrates, Cato, or Seneca, whom they called heathens, have treated us with such unseemly carriage? I suppose not: and well is it for the truly sober and conscientious, they are not liable to those severe lashes, and that peevish usage, which are the inseparable appendix to a Scotch directory, whose cold and cutting gales ever have designed to nip and blast the

the fairest blossoms of greater reformation. So much for history.

What remains is, to inform the reader, that with great brevity I have discussed, and endeavoured a total enervation of those cardinal points, and chief doctrines so firmly believed, and continually imposed for articles of Christian faith: 1. The trinity of separate persons, in the unity of essence. 2. God's incapacity to forgive, without the fullest satisfaction paid him by another. 3. A justification of impure persons, from an imputative righteousness. Which principles let me tell thee, reader, are not more repugnant to scripture, reason, and souls-security, than most destructive to God's honour, in his unity, mercy, and purity.

Therefore I beseech thee to exterminate passion from her predominancy, in the perusal of this discourse, since it was writ in love to thee; that whilst it is thy desire to know, love, and fear God Almighty above mens precepts, thou mayest not miss so good an end, by the blind embraces of tradition for truth. But in the nobility of a true Berean, search and enquire; letting the good old verity, not a pretended antiquity, (whilst a mere novelty) and solid reason, not an over-fond credulity, sway the balance of thy judgment, that both stability and certainty may accompany thy determinations. Farewell.

A short confutation by way of recapitulation, of what was objected against us at Thomas Vincent's meeting.

IF disputations prove at any time ineffectual, it is either to be imputed to the ignorance and ambiguity of the disputants, or to the rudeness and prejudice of the auditory: all which may be truly affirmed of T. V. with his three brethren, and congregation.

The accusation being general, viz. that the Quakers held damnable doctrines, George Whitehead on
their

their behalf stood up, and, as it was his place, willingly would have given the people an information of our principles, which, if objected against, he was as ready to defend by the authority of scripture and reason; but instead of this better method, T. V. as one that is often employed in catechistical lectures, falls to interrogatories, begging that himself, he in his slander had taken for granted, to wit, the knowledge of our principles.

The question was this, ‘Whether we owned one God-head, subsisting in three distinct and separate persons,’ as the result of various revises and amendments; which being denied by us, as a doctrine no where scriptural, T. V. frames this syllogism from the beloved disciple’s words.

“There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one.”

‘These are either three manifestations, three operations, three substances, or three somethings else besides subsistences.’

‘But they are not three manifestations, three operations, three substances, nor three any thing else besides subsistences:’

Ergo, Three subsistences.

G. W. utterly rejected his terms, as not to be found in scripture, nor deducible from the place he instanced: wherefore he desires their explanation of their terms, inasmuch as God did not chuse to wrap his truths up in heathenish metaphysics, but in plain language: notwithstanding we could not obtain a better explanation, than person; or of person, than the mode of a substance; to all which G. W. and myself urged several scriptures, proving God’s complete unity: and when we queried how God was to be understood, if in an abstractive sense from his substance, they concluded it a point more fit for admiration than disputation. But a little to review his syllogism; the man-

ner of it shews him as little a scholar, as it's matter does a Christian; but I shall overlook the first, and so much of the second, as might deserve my objection to his major, and give in short my reason, why I flatly deny his minor proposition. No one substance can have three distinct subsistences, and preserve its own unity: for granting them the most favourable definition, every subsistence will have its own substance; so that three distinct subsistences, or manners of being; will require three distinct substances, or beings; consequently three Gods. For if the infinite God-head subsists in three separate manners or forms, then is not any one of them a perfect and complete subsistence without the other two; so parts, and something finite is in God: or if infinite, then three distinct infinite subsistences; and what is this but to assert three Gods, since none is infinite but God? and on the contrary, there being an inseparability betwixt the substance and its subsistence, the unity of substance will not admit a trinity of incommunicable or distinct subsistences.

T. D. being asked, Of whom was Christ the express image, from his alledging that scripture in the Hebrews; answered, Of God's subsistence, or manner of being: from whence two things in short follow as my reply, It makes God a Father only by subsistence, and Christ a son without a substance. Besides 'tis falsely rendered in the Hebrews, since the Greek does not say *καρὰ τὴν προσώπου*, but *καρὰ τὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως*, the character of substance.

And if he will peruse a farther discovery of his error, and explanation of the matter, let him read Col. i. 15. "who is the image of the invisible God."

And because G. W. willing to bring this strange doctrine to the capacity of the people, compared their three persons to three apostles, saying he did not understand how Paul, Peter, and John could be three persons, and one apostle, (a most apt comparison to detect their doctrine) one ——— Maddocks, whose zeal out-stript his knowledge, bustling hard, as one that had some necessary matter for the decision of our

controversy, instead thereof (perhaps to save his brethren, or shew himself) silences our farther controverting of the principle, by a syllogistical, but impertinent reflection upon G. W's. person. It runs thus:
 ' He that scornfully and reproachfully compares our
 ' doctrine of the blessed trinity of Father, Son, and
 ' Spirit, one in essence, but three in persons, to three
 ' finite men, as Paul, Peter, and John, is a blasphemer. But you G. W. have so done. Ergo,'

A strange way of argumentation, to beg what cannot be granted him, and take for granted what still remains a question, viz. that there are three distinct and separate persons in one essence: let them first prove their trinity, and then charge their blasphemy: but I must not forget this person's self-confutation, who, to be plainer, called them three Hēs, and if he can find an He without a substance, or prove that a subsistence is any other than the form of an He, he would do well to justify himself from the imputation of ignorance.

And till their hypothesis be of better authority, G. W. neither did, nor does by that comparison design mens invention so much honour.

For it is to be remarked, that G. W. is no otherwise a blasphemer, than by drawing direct consequences from their own principles, and re-charging them upon themselves: so that he did not speak his own apprehensions by his comparison, but the sense of their assertion; therefore blasphemer and blasphemy are their own.

The trinity of distinct and separate persons, in the unity of essence, refuted from scripture.

" **A**ND he said, Lord God, there is no god like
 " unto thee, to whom then will ye liken me?
 " or shall I be equal, saith the Holy One^b?—I am the
 " Lord, and there is none else, there is no God be-

^b 1 Kings viii. 23. Isa. xl. 25. Chap. xlv. 5, 6.

“sides me. Thus saith the Lord thy redeemer, the
 “Holy One of Israel, I will also praise thee, O my
 “God; unto thee will I sing, O Holy One of Israel,
 “Jehovah shall be One, and his name One.” Which
 with a cloud of other testimonies that might be
 urged, evidently demonstrate, that in the days of the
 first covenant, and prophets, but One was the Holy
 God, and God but that Holy One.—Again, “And
 “Jesus said unto him, why callest thou me good?
 “there is none good but One, and that is God. And
 “this is life eternal, that they might know Thee
 “(father) the Only true God. Seeing it is One God
 “that shall justify. There be gods many,—but unto
 “us there is but One God, the father, of whom are
 “all things. One God and father, who is above all
 “things. For there is One God. To the Only-wise
 “God be glory now and for ever.” From all which
 I shall lay down this one assertion, that the testimo-
 nies of scripture, both under the law, and since the
 gospel dispensation, declare One to be God, and God
 to be One, on which I shall raise this argument:

If God, as the scriptures testify, hath never been
 declared or believed, but as the Holy One, then will
 it follow, that God is not an Holy Three, nor doth
 subsist in Three distinct and separate Holy Ones: but
 the before-cited scriptures undeniably prove that One
 is God, and God only is that Holy One; therefore he
 cannot be divided into, or subsist in an Holy Three,
 or Three distinct and separate Holy Ones.—Neither
 can this receive the least prejudice from that frequent
 but impertinent distinction, that he is One in sub-
 stance, but Three in persons or subsistences; since
 God was not declared or believed incompletely, or
 without his subsistences: nor did he require homage
 from his creatures, as an incomplete or abstracted
 being, but as God the Holy One, for so he should be

* Isa. xlviii. 17. Psal. xxi. 22. Zac. xiv. 9. ^d Mat. xix. 17.
 John xvii. 3. Rom. iii. 30. 1 Cor. viii. 6. Eph. iv. 6.
 1 Tim. ii. 5. Jude, ver. 25.

manifested and worshipped without that which was absolutely necessary to himself:——so that either the testimonies of the aforementioned scriptures are to be believed concerning God, that he is entirely and completely, not abstractly and distinctly, the Holy One, or else their authority to be denied by these trinitarians: and on the contrary, if they pretend to credit those holy testimonies, they must necessarily conclude their kind of trinity a fiction.

Refuted from right reason.

1. If there be three distinct and separate persons, then three distinct and separate substances, because every person is inseparable from its own substance; and as there is no person that is not a substance in common acceptation among men, so do the scriptures plentifully agree herein: and since the father is God, the son is God, and the spirit is God (which their opinion necessitates them to confess) then unless the father, son, and spirit, are three distinct nothings, they must be three distinct substances, and consequently three distinct gods.

2. It is farther proved, if it be considered, that either the divine persons are finite or infinite; if the first, then something finite is inseparable to the infinite substance, whereby something finite is in God; if the last, then three distinct infinities, three omnipotents, three eternals, and so three gods.

If each person be God, and that God subsists in three persons, then in each person are three persons or gods, and from three, they will increase to nine, and so ad infinitum.

4. But if they shall deny the three persons, or subsistences to be infinite, (for so there would unavoidably be three gods) it will follow that they must be finite, and so the absurdity is not abated from what it was; for that of one substance having three subsistences, is not greater, than that an infinite being should have three finite modes of subsisting. But though
that

that mode which is finite cannot answer to a substance that is infinite; yet to try if we can make their principle to consist, let us conceive that three persons, which may be finite separately, make up an infinite conjunctly; however this will follow, that they are no more incommunicable or separate, nor properly subsistences, but a subsistence; for the infinite substance cannot find a bottom or subsistence in any one or two, therefore jointly. And here I am also willing to overlook finiteness in the Father, Son, and Spirit, which this doctrine must suppose.

5. Again, if these three distinct persons are one, with some one thing, as they say they are with the God-head, then are not they incommunicable among themselves; but so much the contrary, as to be one in the place of another: for if that the only God is the father, and Christ be that only God, then is Christ the father. So if that one God be the son, and the spirit that one God, then is the spirit the son, and so round. Nor is it possible to stop, or that it should be otherwise, since if the divine nature be inseparable from the three persons, or communicated to each, and each person have the whole divine nature, then is the son in the father, and the spirit in the son, unless that the God-head be as incommunicable to the persons, as they are reported to be amongst themselves; or that the three persons have distinctly allotted them such a proportion of the divine nature, as is not communicable to each other; which is alike absurd. Much more might be said to manifest the gross contradiction of this trinitarian doctrine, as vulgarly received; but I must be brief.

Information and caution.

Before I shall conclude this head, it is requisite I should inform thee, reader, concerning its original; thou mayest assure thyself, it is not from the scriptures, nor reason, since so expressly repugnant; although all broachers of their own inventions strongly endeavour
to

to reconcile them with that holy record. Know then, my friend, it was born above three hundred years after the ancient gospel was declared; and that through the nice distinctions, and too daring curiosity of the bishop of Alexandria, who being as hotly opposed by Arius, their zeal so reciprocally blew the fire of contention, animosity, and persecution, till at last they sacrificed each other to their mutual revenge.

Thus it was conceived in ignorance, brought forth and maintained by cruelty; for though he that was strongest imposed his opinion, persecuting the contrary, yet the scale turning on the trinitarian side, it has there continued through all the Romish generations: and notwithstanding it hath obtained the name of Athanasian from Athanasius, (a stiff man, witness his carriage towards Constantine the emperor) because supposed to have been most concerned in the framing that creed in which this doctrine is asserted; yet have I never seen one copy void of a suspicion, rather to have been the results of popish school-men; which I could render more perspicuous, did not brevity necessitate me to an omission.

Be therefore cautioned, reader, not to embrace the determination of prejudiced councils, for evangelical doctrine; which the scriptures bear no certain testimony to, neither was believed by the primitive saints, or thus stated by any I have read of in the first, second, or third centuries; particularly Ireneus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Origen, with many others who appear wholly foreign to the matter in controversy.—But seeing that private spirits, and those none of the most ingenious, have been the parents and guardians of this so generally received doctrine; let the time past suffice, and be admonished to apply thy mind unto that light and grace which brings salvation; that by obedience thereunto, those mists tradition hath cast before thy eyes may be expelled, and thou receive a certain knowledge of that God, whom to know is life eternal, not to be divided, but One pure entire and eternal being; who in the fulness of time

sent forth his Son, as the true light which enlighteneth every man; that whosoever followed him (the light) might be translated from the dark notions, and vain conversations of men, to this holy light, in which only sound judgment and eternal life are obtainable: who so many hundred years since, in person, testified the virtue of it, and has communicated unto all such a proportion as may enable them to follow his example.

The vulgar doctrine of satisfaction, being dependent on the second person of the trinity, refuted from scripture.

‘ **T**HAT man having transgressed the righteous law of God, and so exposed to the penalty of eternal wrath, it is altogether impossible for God to remit or forgive without a plenary satisfaction; and that there was no other way by which God could obtain satisfaction, or save men, than by inflicting the penalty of infinite wrath and vengeance on Jesus Christ the second person of the trinity, who for sins past, present, and to come, hath wholly borne and paid it, (whether for all, or but some) to the offended justice of his father.’

1. “ And the Lord passed by before him, (Moses) and proclaimed, the Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin.” [From whence I shall draw this position, that since God has proclaimed himself a gracious, merciful, and forgiving God, it is not inconsistent with his nature to remit, without any other consideration than his own love: otherwise he could not justly come under the imputation of so many gracious attributes, with whom it is impossible to pardon, and necessary to exact the payment of the utmost farthing.]

• Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7.

2. “ For

2. "For if ye turn again to the Lord, the Lord
 "your God is gracious and merciful, and will not
 "turn away his face from you." [Where, how natural is it to observe, that God's remission is grounded on their repentance; and not that it is impossible for God to pardon, without plenary satisfaction, since the possibility, nay, certainty of the contrary, viz. his grace and mercy, is the great motive or reason, of that loving invitation to return!]

3. "They hardened their necks, and hearkened not
 "to thy commandments; but thou art a God ready
 "to pardon, gracious and merciful." [Can the honest-hearted reader conceive, that God should thus be mercifully qualified, whilst executing the rigour of the law transgressed, or not acquitting without the debt be paid him by another? I suppose not.]

4. "Let the wicked forsake his way, and the un-
 "righteous man his thoughts, and let him return un-
 "to the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him,
 "and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon." [Come, let the unprejudiced judge, if this scripture doctrine is not very remote from saying, his nature cannot forgive sin, therefore let Christ pay him full satisfaction, or he will certainly be avenged; which is the substance of that strange opinion.]

5. "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I
 "will make a new covenant with the house of Israel;
 "I will put my law in their inward parts; I will for-
 "give their iniquity, and I will remember their sin
 "no more." [Here is God's mere grace asserted, against the pretended necessity of a satisfaction to procure his remission; and this Paul acknowledgeth to be the dispensation of the gospel, in his eighth chapter to the Hebrews: so that this new doctrine doth not only contradict the nature and design of the second covenant, but seems, in short, to discharge God, both from his mercy and omnipotence.]

2 Chron. xxx. 9. 3 Neh. ix. 16, 17. 4 Isa. lv. 7. 5 Jer. xxxi.

31, 33, 34

6 “ Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by the transgression of the remnant of his heritage? he retaineth not his anger for ever, because he delighteth in mercy.*” [Can there be a more express passage to clear, not only the possibility, but real inclinations in God to pardon sin, and “ not retain his anger for ever?” since the prophet seems to challenge all other gods, to try their excellency by his God: herein describing the supremacy of his power, and superexcellency of his nature, “ that he pardoneth iniquity, and retaineth not his anger for ever:” so that if the satisfactionists should ask the question, who is a God like unto ours, that cannot pardon iniquity, nor pass by transgression, but retaineth his anger until some body make him satisfaction? I answer, many amongst the harsh and severe rulers of the nation; but as for my God, he is exalted above them all, upon the throne of his mercy, “ who pardoneth iniquity, and retaineth not his anger for ever, but will have compassion upon us.”]

7. “ And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.†” [Where nothing can be more obvious, than that that which is forgiven, is not paid: and if it is our duty to forgive our debtors, without a satisfaction received, and that God is to forgive us, as we forgive them, then is a satisfaction totally excluded: Christ farther paraphrases upon that part of his prayer, ver. 14. “ For if ye forgive their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you.” Where he as well argues the equity of God’s forgiving them, from their forgiving others, as he encourages them to forgive others, from the example of God’s mercy, in forgiving them: which is more amply expressed, chap. xviii. where the kingdom of heaven (that consists in righteousness) is represented by a king; “ who upon his debtor’s petition, had compassion, and forgave him; but the same treating his fellow-servant without the least forbearance, the king condemned his

* Micah, vii. 18. † Mat. vi. 12.

“ unrighteousness, and delivered him over to the
“ tormentors.” But how had this been a fault in the
servant, if his king’s mercy had not been proposed for
his example? how most unworthy therefore is it of
God, and blasphemous, may I justly term it, for any
to assert that forgiveness impossible to God, which is
not only possible, but enjoined to men!]

8. “ For God so loved the world, that he gave his
“ only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him
“ should not perish, but have everlasting life.” [By
which it appears, that God’s love is not the effect of
Christ’s satisfaction, but Christ is the proper gift and
effect of God’s love.]

9. “ To him give all the prophets witness, that
“ through his name, whosoever believeth in him, shall
“ receive remission of sins.” [So that remission came
by believing his testimony, and obeying his precepts,
and not by a strict satisfaction.]

10. “ If God be for us, who can be against us? he
“ that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up
“ for us all.” [Which evidently declares it to be
God’s act of love, otherwise, if he must be paid, he
should be at the charge of his own satisfaction, for he
delivered up the Son.]

11. “ And all things are of God, who hath recon-
“ ciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given
“ to us the ministry of reconciliation, to wit, that
“ God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself,
“ not imputing their trespasses unto them.” [How
undeniably apparent is it, that God is so far from
standing off in high displeasure, and upon his own
terms, contracting with his Son for a satisfaction, as
being otherwise incapable to be reconciled, that he
became himself the reconciler by Christ, and after-
wards by the apostles, his ambassadors, to whom was
committed the ministry of reconciliation.]

“ John, iii. 16. “ Acts, x. 43. ° Rom. viii. 31, 32. P 2 Cor.
v. 18, 19.

12. "In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace."¹ [Now what relation satisfaction has to forgiveness of sins, or how any can construe grace to be strict justice, the meanest understanding may determine.]

13. "But the God of all grace, who hath called us unto his eternal glory, by Christ Jesus."² [He does not say that God's justice, in consideration of Christ's satisfaction, acquitted us from sins past, present, and to come, and therefore hath called us to his eternal glory; but from his grace.]

14. "In this was manifest the love of God towards us, because that God sent his only-begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him."³ [Which plainly attributes Christ, in his doctrine, life, miracles, death, and sufferings, to God, as the gift and expression of his eternal love, for the salvation of men.]

1. In abolishing that other covenant, which consisted in external and shadowy ordinances, and that made none clean as concerning the conscience.

2. In promulgating his message, of a most free and universal tender of life and salvation, unto all that believed and followed him, (the light) in all his righteousness, the very end of his appearance being to destroy the works of the devil, and which every man only comes to experience, as he walks in an holy subjection to that measure of light and grace, wherewith the fulness hath enlightened him.

3. In seconding his doctrines with signs, miracles, and a most innocent self-denying life.

4. In ratifying and confirming all (with great love and holy resignation) by the offering up of his body, to be crucified by wicked hands: who is now ascended far above all heavens, and is thereby become a most complete captain, and perfect example.

¹ Eph. i. 7. ² 1 Pet. v. 10. ³ 1 John iv. 9.

So that I can by no means conclude, but openly declare, that the scriptures of truth are not only silent in reference to this doctrine of rigid satisfaction, but that it is altogether inconsistent with the dignity of God, and very repugnant to the conditions, nature, and tendency of that second covenant, concerning which their testimony is so clear.

The absurdities, that unavoidably follow the comparison of this doctrine with the sense of scripture.

1. **T**HAT God is gracious to forgive, and yet it is impossible for him, unless the debt be fully satisfied.

2. That the finite and impotent creature is more capable of extending mercy and forgiveness, than the infinite and omnipotent Creator.

3. "That God so loved the world, he gave his only Son to save it;" and yet that God stood off in high displeasure, and Christ gave himself to God as a complete satisfaction to his offended justice: with many more such like gross consequences that might be drawn.

Refuted from right reason.

But if we should grant a scripture silence, as to the necessity of Christ's so satisfying his Father's justice; yet so manifest would be the contradictions, and foul the repugnancies to right reason, that who had not veiled his understanding with the dark suggestions of unwarrantable tradition, or contracted his judgment to the implicit apprehensions of some over-valued acquaintance, might with great facility discriminate to a full resolution in this point: for admitting God to be a creditor, or he to whom the debt should be paid, and Christ, he that satisfies or pays it on the behalf of man, the debtor, this question will arise, Whether he paid that debt, as God, or man, or both? (to use their own terms.)

Not as God.

1. In that it divides the unity of the God-head, by two distinct acts, of being offended, and not offended; of condemning justice and redeeming mercy; of requiring a satisfaction, and then making of it.

2. Because if Christ pays the debt as God, then the Father and the Spirit being God, they also pay the debt.

3. Since God is to be satisfied, and that Christ is God, he consequently is to be satisfied; and who shall satisfy his infinite justice?

4. But if Christ has satisfied God the Father, Christ being also God, it will follow then that he has satisfied himself, (which cannot be.)

5. But since God the Father was once to be satisfied, and that it is impossible he should do it himself, nor yet the Son or Spirit, because the same God; it naturally follows, that the debt remains unpaid, and these satisfactionists thus far are still at a loss.

Not as man.

6. The justice offended being infinite, his satisfaction ought to bear a proportion therewith, which Jesus Christ, as man, could never pay, he being finite, and from a finite cause could not proceed an infinite effect; for so man may be said to bring forth God, since nothing below the divinity itself can rightly be stiled infinite.

Not as God and man.

7. For where two mediums, or middle propositions, are singly inconsistent with the nature of the end, for which they were at first propounded, their conjunction does rather augment than lessen the difficulty of its accomplishment; and this I am persuaded must be obvious to every unbiaſſed understanding.

But

But admitting one of these three mediums possible for the payment of an infinite debt; yet, pray observe the most unworthy and ridiculous consequences, that will unavoidably attend the impossibility of God's pardoning sinners without a satisfaction.

Consequences irreligious and irrational.

1. That it is unlawful and impossible for God Almighty to be gracious and merciful, or to pardon transgressors; than which, what is more unworthy of God?

2. That God was inevitably compelled to this way of saving men; the highest affront to his incontrollable nature.

3. That it was unworthy of God to pardon, but not to inflict punishment on the innocent, or require a satisfaction where there was nothing due.

4. It doth not only dis-acknowledge the true virtue and real intent of Christ's life and death, but entirely deprives God of that praise which is owing to his greatest love and goodness.

5. It represents the Son more kind and compassionate than the Father; whereas if both be the same God, then either the Father is as loving as the Son, or the Son as angry as the Father.

6. It robs God of the gift of his Son for our redemption (which the scriptures attribute to the unmerited love he had for the world) in affirming the Son purchased that redemption from the Father, by the gift of himself to God, as our complete satisfaction.

7. Since Christ could not pay what was not his own, it follows, that in the payment of his own, the case still remains equally grievous; since the debt is not hereby absolved or forgiven, but transferred only; and by consequence we are no better provided for salvation than before, owing that now to the Son, which was once owing to the Father.

8. It no way renders man beholding, or in the least obliged to God; since by their doctrine he would not

have abated us, nor did he Christ the last farthing; so that the acknowledgments are peculiarly the Son's; which destroys the whole current of scripture-testimony, for his good-will towards men.—O the infamous portraiture this doctrine draws of the infinite goodness! Is this your retribution, O injurious satisfactionists?

9. That God's justice is satisfied for sins past, present, and to come; whereby God and Christ have lost both their power of enjoining godliness, and prerogative of punishing disobedience; for what is once paid is not revokeable; and if punishment should arrest any for their debts, it either argues a breach on God's or Christ's part, or else that it has not been sufficiently solved, and the penalty completely sustained by another; forgetting, "that every one must appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, to receive according to the things done in the body: yea, every one must give an account of himself to God." But many more are the gross absurdities and blasphemies that are the genuine fruits of this so-confidently-believed doctrine of satisfaction.

A CAUTION.

Let me advise, nay warn thee, reader, by no means to admit an entertainment of this principle, by whomsoever recommended; since it does not only divest the glorious God of his sovereign power, both to pardon and punish, but as certainly insinuates a licentiousness, at least a liberty, that unbecomes the nature of that ancient gospel once preached amongst the primitive saints, and that from an apprehension of a satisfaction once paid for all. Whereas I must tell thee, that unless thou seriously repent, and no more grieve God's holy Spirit, placed in thy inmost parts, but art thereby taught to deny all ungodliness, and led into all righteousness; at the tribunal of the great Judge, thy plea

† Rom. xiv. 12. 2 Cor. xv. 10.

shall

shall prove invalid, and thou receive thy reward without respect to any other thing than the deeds done in the body: "Be not deceived, God will not be mocked; such as thou sowest, such shalt thou reap:" which leads me to the consideration of my third head, viz. 'Justification by an imputative righteousness.'

The justification of impure persons, by an imputative righteousness, refuted from scripture.

THAT there is no other way for sinners to be justified in the sight of God, than by the imputation of that righteousness of Christ, long since performed personally; and that sanctification is consequential, not antecedent.'

1. "Keep thee far from a false matter; and the innocent and righteous slay thou not; for I will not justify the wicked." [Whereon I ground this argument, that since God has prescribed an inoffensive life, as that which can only give acceptance with him, and on the contrary hath determined never to justify the wicked, then will it necessarily follow, that unless this so-much-believed imputative righteousness had that effectual influence, as to regenerate and redeem the soul from sin, on which the malediction lies, he is as far to seek for justification as before; for whilst a person is really guilty of a false matter, I positively assert, from the authority and force of this scripture, he cannot be in a state of justification; and as God will not justify the wicked, so, by the acknowledged reason of contraries, the just he will never condemn, but they, and they only, are the justified of God.]

2. "He that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just, even they both are an abomination to the Lord." [It would very opportunely be observed, that if it is so great an abomination in men to justify the wicked, and condemn the just, how much greater would it be in God, which this doctrine

of imputative righteousness necessarily does imply, that so far disengages God from the person justified, as that his guilt shall not condemn him, nor his innocence justify him? But will not the abomination appear greatest of all, when God shall be found condemning of the just, on purpose to justify the wicked, and that he is thereto compelled, or else no salvation, which is the tendency of their doctrine, ‘who imagine the righteous and merciful God, to condemn and punish his innocent Son, that he having satisfied for our sins, we might be justified (whilst unsanctified) by the imputation of his perfect righteousness.’ O! why should this horrible thing be contended for by Christians?]

3. “The son shall not bear the iniquity of his father; the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him. When a righteous man turneth away from his righteousness, for his iniquity that he hath done shall he die. Again, when the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness, and doth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive; yet saith the house of Israel, the ways of the Lord are not equal: are not my ways equal?” [If this was once equal, it is so still, for God is unchangeable; and therefore I shall draw this argument, that the condemnation or justification of persons is not from the imputation of another’s righteousness, but the actual performance and keeping of God’s righteous statutes or commandments, otherwise God should forget to be equal: therefore how wickedly unequal are those, who, not from scripture evidences, but their own dark conjectures and interpretations of obscure passages, would frame a doctrine so manifestly inconsistent with God’s most pure and equal nature; making him to condemn the righteous to death, and justify the wicked to life, from the imputation of another’s righteousness:—a most unequal way indeed!]

7 Ezek. xxviii. 20, 26, 27, 28.

4. “Not

4. “Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord,
 “shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that
 “doth the will of my Father. Whosoever heareth
 “these sayings of mine, and doth them, I will liken
 “him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a
 “rock,” &c. [How very fruitful are the scriptures
 of truth, in testimonies against this absurd and dan-
 gerous doctrine! these words seem to import a twofold
 righteousness; the first consists in sacrifice, the last in
 obedience; the one makes a talking, the other a do-
 ing Christian. I in short argue thus: If none can en-
 ter into the kingdom of heaven, but they that do the
 Father’s will, then none are justified, but they who do
 the Father’s will, because none can enter into the
 kingdom but such as are justified; since therefore there
 can be no admittance had, without performing that
 righteous will, and doing those holy and perfect say-
 ings; alas! to what value will an imputative right-
 eousness amount, when a poor soul shall awake pol-
 luted in his sin, by the hasty calls of death, to make
 its appearance before the judgment-seat, where it is
 impossible to justify the wicked, or that any should
 escape uncondemned, but such as do the will of
 God?]

5. “If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide
 “in my love, even as I have kept my Father’s com-
 “mandments, and abide in his love.” [From whence
 this argument doth naturally arise; If none are truly
 justified that abide not in Christ’s love, and that none
 abide in his love who keep not his commandments;
 then consequently none are justified, but such as keep
 his commandments. Besides, here is the most palpa-
 ble opposition to an imputative righteousness that may
 be; for Christ is so far from telling them of such a
 way of being justified, as that he informs them the
 reason why he abode in his Father’s love was, his
 obedience; and is so far from telling them of their
 being justified, whilst not abiding in his love, by vir-

* Mat. vii. 21, 24, 25. * John xv. 10.

tue of his obedience imputed unto them, that unless they keep his commands, and obey for themselves, they shall be so remote from an acceptance, as wholly to be cast out; in all which Christ is our example.]

6. "Ye are my friends, if you do whatsoever I command you."^b [We have almost here the very words, but altogether the same matter, which affords us thus much, that without being Christ's friends there is no being justified; but unless we keep his commandments, it is impossible we should be his friends: it therefore necessarily follows, that except we keep his commandments, there is no being justified: or, in short thus; if the way to be a friend is, to keep the commandments; then the way to be justified is, to keep the commandments, because none can obtain the quality of a friend, and remain unjustified, or be truly justified whilst an enemy; which he certainly is that keeps not the commandments.]

7. "For not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified."^c [From whence how unanswerably may I observe, unless we become doers of that law, which Christ came not to destroy, but, as our example, to fulfil, we can never be justified before God; wherefore obedience is so absolutely necessary, that short of it there can be no acceptance; nor let any fancy that Christ hath so fulfilled it for them, as to exclude their obedience from being requisite to their acceptance, but as their pattern: "for unless ye follow me, saith Christ, ye cannot be my disciples:" and it is not only repugnant to reason, but in this place particularly refuted; for if Christ had fulfilled it on our behalf, and we not enabled to follow his example, there would not be doers, but one doer only, of the law justified before God. In short, if without obedience to the righteous law none can be justified, then all our hearing of the law, with but the mere imputation of another's righteousness, whilst we are actually breakers of it, is excluded,

^b John, xv. 14. ^c Rom. ii. 13.

as not justifying before God. “If you fulfil the royal law, ye do well; so speak ye, and so do ye, as they that shall be judged thereby.”]

8. “If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if ye through the spirit, do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live.” [No man can be dead, and justified before God, for so he may be justified that lives after the flesh; therefore they only can be justified that are alive; from whence this follows, if the living are justified and not the dead, and that none can live to God, but such as have mortified the deeds of the body through the spirit, then none can be justified but they who have mortified the deeds of the body through the spirit; so that justification does not go before, but is subsequential to the mortification of lusts, and sanctification of the soul, through the spirit’s operation.]

9. “For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, are the sons of God.” [How clearly will it appear to any but a cavilling and tenacious spirit, that man can be no farther justified, than as he becomes obedient to the Spirit’s leadings; for if none can be a son of God, but he that is led by the Spirit of God, then none can be justified without being led by the Spirit of God, because none can be justified but he that is a son of God: so that the way to justification and sonship, is through the obedience to the Spirit’s leadings, that is, manifesting the holy fruits thereof by an innocent life and conversation.]

10. “But let every man prove his own work, and then shall he have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another. Be not deceived, for whatsoever a man soweth that shall he reap.” [If rejoicing and acceptance with God, or the contrary, are to be reaped from the work that a man soweth, either to the flesh, or to the spirit, then is the doctrine of acceptance, and ground of rejoicing, from the works of another,

• Rom. viii. 13. • Rom. viii. 14. † Gal. vi. 4, 7.

utterly excluded, every man reaping according to what he hath sown, and bearing his own burden.]

11. “ Was not Abraham our father justified by
“ works, when he had offered Isaac his son upon the
“ altar? Ye see then how that by works a man is jus-
“ tified, and not by faith only.^a” He that will se-
riously peruse this chapter, shall doubtless find some,
to whom this epistle was wrote, of the same spirit
with the satisfactionists and imputarians of our time,
they fain would have found out a justification from
faith in the imputation of another’s righteousness;
but James, an apostle of the most high God, who ex-
perimentally knew what true faith and justification
meant, gave them to understand from Abraham’s self-
denying example, that unless their faith, in the purity
and power of God’s grace, had that effectual opera-
tion to subdue every beloved lust, wean from every
Delilah, and entirely to resign and sacrifice Isaac him-
self, their faith was a fable, or as a body without a
spirit: and as righteousness therefore in one person
cannot justify another from unrighteousness; so who-
ever now pretend to be justified by faith, whilst not
led and guided by the Spirit into all the ways of
truth, and works of righteousness, their faith they will
find at last a fiction.]

12. “ Little children, let no man deceive you, he
“ that doth righteousness is righteous, as God is right-
“ eous, (but) he that committeth sin is of the de-
“ vil.^b” [From whence it may be very clearly argued,
that none can be in a state of justification, from the right-
eousness performed by another imputed unto them, but
as they are actually redeemed from the commission of
sin: for “ if he that committeth sin is of the devil,”
then cannot any be justified completely before God,
who is so incompletely redeemed, as yet to be under
the captivity of lust, since then the devil’s seed or off-
spring may be justified; but that is impossible: it
therefore follows, that as he who doth righteousness is

^a 1 Jam. ii. 21, 24. ^b 1 John ii. 7, 8.

righteous,

righteous, as God is righteous, so no farther is he like God, or justifiable; for in whatsoever he derogates from the works of that faith, which is held in a pure conscience, he is no longer righteous or justified, but under condemnation as a transgressor, or disobedient person to the righteous commandment; and if any would obtain the true state of justification, let them circumspectly observe the holy guidings and instructions of that unction, to which the apostle recommended the ancient churches, that thereby they may be led out of all ungodliness, into truth and holiness; so shall they find acceptance with the Lord, who has determined never to justify the wicked.]

Refuted from right reason.

1. Because it is impossible for God to justify that which is both opposite and destructive to the purity of his own nature, as this doctrine necessarily obliges him to do, in accepting the wicked, as not such, from the imputation of another's righteousness.

2. Since man was justified before God, whilst in his native innocency, and never condemned till he had erred from that pure state; he never can be justified, whilst in the frequent commission of that for which the condemnation came; therefore, to be justified, his redemption must be as entire as his fall.

3. Because sin came not by imputation, but actual transgression; for God did not condemn his creature for what he did not, but what he did; therefore must the righteousness be as personal for acceptance, otherwise these two things will necessarily follow: first, that he may be actually a sinner, and yet not under the curse. Secondly, that the power of the first Adam to death, was more prevalent than the power of the second Adam unto life.

4. It is therefore contrary to sound reason, that if actual sinning brought death and condemnation, any thing besides actual obedience unto righteousness, should bring life and justification; for death and life, con-

condemnation and justification, being vastly opposite, no man can be actually dead and imputatively alive; therefore this doctrine, so much contended for, carries this gross absurdity with it, that a man may be actually sinful, yet imputatively righteous; actually judged and condemned, yet imputatively justified and glorified. In short, he may be actually damned, and yet imputatively saved; otherwise it must be acknowledged, that obedience to justification ought to be as personally extensive, as was disobedience to condemnation: in which real, not imputative sense, those various terms of sanctification, righteousness, resurrection, life, redemption, justification, &c. are most infallibly to be understood.

5. Nor are those words, impute, imputed, imputeth, imputing, used in scripture by way of opposition to that which is actual and inherent, as the assertors of an imputative righteousness do by their doctrine plainly intimate; but so much the contrary, as that they are never mentioned, but to express men really and personally to be that which is imputed to them, whether as guilty, as remitted, or as righteous: for instance: “What man soever of the house of Israel, “that killeth an ox, and bringeth it not to the door “of the tabernacle, to offer unto the Lord, blood “shall be imputed unto that man,¹” or charged upon him as guilty thereof. “And Shimei said unto the “king, let not my lord impute iniquity unto me, for “thy servant doth know that I have sinned.²”

6. “But sin is not imputed where there is no law.¹” From whence it is apparent that there could be no imputation, or charging of guilt upon any, but such as really were guilty. Next, it is used about remission: “Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity;^m” or, as the foregoing words have it, “whose transgression is forgiven.” Where the non-imputation doth not argue a non-reality of

¹ Lev. xvii. 4. ² 2 Sam. xix. 18, 19, 20. ¹ Rom. v. 13. ^m Psal. xxxii. 2.

sin, but the reality of God's pardon; for otherwise there would be nothing to forgive, nor yet a real pardon, but only imputative, which, according to the sense of this doctrine, I call imaginary. Again, "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them." Where also non-imputation, being a real discharge for actual trespasses, argues an imputation, by the reason of contraries, to be a real charging of actual guilt. Lastly, it is used in relation to righteousness, "Was not Abraham justified by works, when he offered Isaac? and by works was faith made perfect, and the scripture was fulfilled, which faith, Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness." By which we must not conceive, as do the dark imputarians of this age, that Abraham's offering personally was not a justifying righteousness, but that God was pleased to account it so; since God never accounts a thing that which it is not; nor was there any imputation of another's righteousness to Abraham, but on the contrary, his personal obedience was the ground of that just imputation; and therefore, that any should be justified from the imputation of another's righteousness, not inherent, or actually possessed by them, is both ridiculous and dangerous——Ridiculous, since it is to say a man is rich to the value of a thousand pounds, whilst he is not really or personally worth a groat, from the imputation of another, who has it all in his possession. Dangerous, because it begets a confident persuasion in many people of their being justified, whilst in captivity to those lusts, whose reward is condemnation; whence came that usual saying amongst many professors of religion, 'that God looks not on them as they are in themselves, but as they are in Christ;' not considering that none can be in Christ, who are not new creatures, which those cannot be reputed, who have

^a 2 Cor. v. 19. • Jam. ii. 21, 22, 23.

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not disrobed themselves of their old garments, but are still innantled with the corruptions of the old man.

Consequences irreligious and irrational.

1. It makes God guilty of what the scriptures say is an abomination, to wit, that he justifieth the wicked.

2. It makes him look upon persons as they are not, or with respect, which is unworthy of his most equal nature.

3. He is hereby at peace with the wicked, (if justified whilst sinners) who said “there is no peace to the wicked.”

4. It does not only imply communion with them here, in an imperfect state, but so to all eternity, “for whom he justified, them he also glorified.” Therefore whom he justified, whilst sinners, them he also glorified, whilst sinners.

5. It only secures from the wages, not the dominion of sin, whereby something that is sinful comes to be justified, and that which defileth, to enter God’s kingdom.

6. It renders a man justified and condemned, dead and alive, redeemed and not redeemed, at the same time, the one by an imputative righteousness, the other a personal unrighteousness.

7. It flatters men, whilst subject to the world’s lust, with a state of justification, and thereby invalidates the very end of Christ’s appearance, which was to destroy the works of the devil, and take away the sins of the world; a quite contrary purpose than what the satisfactionists, and imputarians of our times have imagined, viz. to satisfy for their sins, and by his imputed righteousness, to represent them holy in him, whilst unholy in themselves; therefore since it was to take away sin, and destroy the devil’s works, which were not in himself, for that Holy One saw no cor-

ruption, consequently in mankind; what can therefore be concluded more evidently true, than that such in whom sin is not taken away, and the devil's works undestroyed, are strangers (notwithstanding their conceits) to the very end and purpose of Christ's manifestation.

Conclusion, by way of caution.

THUS, reader, have I led thee through those three so generally applauded doctrines, whose confutation I hope, though thou hast run, thou hast read; and now I call the righteous God of heaven to bear me record, that I have herein fought nothing below the defence of his unity, mercy, and purity, against the rude and impetuous assaults of tradition, press and pulpit, from whence I daily hear, what rationally induceth me to believe a conspiracy is held by counter-plots, to obstruct the exaltation of truth, and to betray evangelical doctrines, to idle traditions: but God will rebuke the winds, and destruction shall attend the enemies of his anointed.—Mistake me not, we never have disowned a Father, Word, and Spirit, which are One, but mens inventions: for, 1. Their trinity has not so much as a foundation in the scriptures. 2. Its original was three hundred years after Christianity was in the world. 3. It having cost much blood; in the council of Sirmium, anno 335, it was decreed, ‘that
‘thenceforth the controversy should not be remem-
‘bered, because the scriptures of God made no men-
‘tion thereof.’^a Why then should it be mentioned now, with a maranatha on all that will not bow to this abstruse opinion. 4. And it doubtless hath occasioned idolatry, witness the popish images of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. 5. It scandalizeth Turks, Jews, and Infidels, and palpably obstructs their reception of the Christian doctrine.—Nor is there more to be said on the behalf of the other two; for I can boldly challenge any person to give me one scrip-

^a Socrat. Schol. An. 355. Conc. Sirm. cap. xxv. pag. 275.

ture phrase which does approach the doctrine of satisfaction, (much less the name) considering to what degree it is stretched; not that we do deny, but really confess, that Jesus Christ, in life, doctrine, and death, fulfilled his Father's will, and offered up a most satisfactory sacrifice, but not to pay God, or help him, (as otherwise being unable) to save men; and for a justification by an imputative righteousness, whilst not real, it is merely an imagination, not a reality, and therefore rejected; otherwise confessed and known to be justifying before God, because "there is no abiding in Christ's love without keeping his commandments." I therefore caution thee in love, of whatsoever tribe, or family of religion thou mayest be, not longer to deceive thyself, by the over-fond embraces of human apprehensions, for divine mysteries; but rather be informed that God hath bestowed "a measure of his grace on thee and me, to shew us what is good, that we may obey and do it;" which if thou diligently wilt observe, thou shalt be led out of all unrighteousness, and in thy obedience shalt thou receive power to become a son of God;" in which happy estate God only can be known by men, and they know themselves to be justified before him, whom experimentally to know, by Jesus Christ, is life eternal.

A postscript of animadversions, upon T. V.'s contradictions, delivered in his sermon from 1 John v. 4. at the evening lecture in Spital-yard: "For whatsoever is born of God, overcometh the world."

<p>" Whatsoever is born " of God, over- " cometh the world."</p>		<p>' There is a twofold vic- ' tory; the first complete, ' the second incomplete.'</p>
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This is as well a contradiction to his text and doctrine, as to common sense; for besides that they neither of them say, 'He that is born of God, cannot perfectly overcome the world,' but much the contrary,

trary, I fain would understand his intention by an incomplete victory: if he means not such a one as is obtained by the slaughter of every individual, but that which only does subdue the force, and lead captive their enemies, yet will the victory prove complete; for if they be so far overcome as to be disarmed of farther power to mischief, the dispute is properly determined: but whatsoever is incomplete, is but overcoming, or in the way to victory, and victory is the completing of what was before imperfect.

‘ Such overcome as are
‘ born again, who are in
‘ Christ, that have cast off
‘ the old man, and know
‘ a change altogether new.

‘ Worldly lusts cannot
‘ be extirpated out of God’s
‘ people in this world.’

If sin must have a place in them, how can they be born of God, and have a place in Christ, or cast off the old man, and know a change altogether new?

‘ God’s children are the
‘ greatest conquerors; A-
‘ lexander and Cæsar were
‘ conquerors, but these o-
‘ vercome their lusts.

‘ God’s children cannot
‘ perfectly overcome the
‘ lusts of this world, they
‘ sometimes take them cap-
‘ tive.’

What strange divinity is this! that God’s people should be conquerors, and yet captives; overcome the world, and yet be overcome thereby.

‘ Sin may tyrannize over
‘ believers.

‘ But not have domini-
‘ on; it is in captivity; it
‘ is in chains.’

Who is so absolutely injurious, and incontrollable, as a tyrant? and notwithstanding that he should have no dominion, but be in captivity, and in chains, at best are Bedlam-distinctions, and consequently unworthy of any man’s mouth that has a share of common-sense.

‘ You must kill, or be
 ‘ killed; either you must
 ‘ overcome the world, or
 ‘ the world you.

‘ If ye fight, ye shall
 ‘ overcome.

‘ Incompletely; he over-
 ‘ comes, when he breaks
 ‘ their force, leads them
 ‘ captive, and puts them
 ‘ into chains; but they are
 ‘ not at all slain, they some-
 ‘ times take him captive.

To kill, or be killed, admits no middle way to escape; yet that both sin and God’s children should lead one another captive; and that he which fights shall overcome, and yet be in danger of being led captive, because completely a conqueror, to me seems very strange doctrine.

However, he goes on to tell them, ‘ Whosoever is
 ‘ born of God, overcometh the lusts of the world,
 ‘ and he that overcometh the lusts of the world, over-
 ‘ comes the devils of hell; God’s children have to do
 ‘ with a conquered enemy.’ Yet he would all this
 while be understood in an incomplete sense; and to excite all to fight for this incomplete victory, he recommended to their consideration, the excellent rewards of conquerors, that is, “ to him that overcom-
 “ eth, will I give to eat of the tree of life, the hid-
 “ den manna. I will give him a white stone, a new
 “ name, power over nations, white raiment: yea, I
 “ will make him a pillar in the temple of my God;
 “ he shall go no more out, and I will grant him to
 “ sit with me in my throne.” Admirable privileges, I acknowledge! but are they promised to incomplete conquerors? I judge not.

Reader, by this thou mayest be able to give a probable conjecture of the rest; and as I have begun with him and his co-disputants, with them I will end; who, notwithstanding all their boasts and calumnies against us, have so evaded those many opportunities we have offered them by letters, verbal messages, and personal visits, that had they any zeal for their principles, love for their reputation, or conscience

promises, they would have been induced to a more direct and candid treaty.

But as it hath occasioned the publication of this little treatise, so I am credibly informed, through the too busy and malicious inquisition of some concerning it, (which have amounted to no less than positive reports) it is currently discoursed, how that a certain Quaker hath lately espoused the controversy against R. F. and therein has perverted the Christian religion to that degree, as plainly to deny Christ's coming in the flesh; with much more than was fit to be said, or is fit to be answered:

But, reader, I shall ask no other judge to clear me from that most uncharitable accusation; since first, I am altogether unacquainted with R. F. nor ever did design directly such a thing, being unwilling to seek more adversaries than what more nearly seek the overthrow of truth, although I doubt not but this plain and simple treatise may prove some confutation of his sentiments.

And lastly, as concerning Christ; although the slander is not new, yet nevertheless false: for I declare on the behalf of that despised people, vulgarly called Quakers, the grace, of which we testify, hath never taught us to acknowledge another God than he that is the "Father of all things, who fills heaven and earth:" neither to confess another Lord Jesus Christ, than he that appeared so many hundred years ago, "made of a virgin, like unto us in all things, sin excepted;" or any another doctrine than was by him declared and practised; therefore let every mouth be stopped from ever opening more, in blasphemy against God's innocent heritage, who in principle, life and death, bear an unanimous testimony for the only true God, true Christ, and heavenly doctrine, which in their vindication is openly attested by

W I L L I A M P E N N, jun.

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INNOCENCY with her Open Face,

PRESENTED BY WAY OF

A P O L O G Y

FOR THE BOOK ENTITLED,

THE SANDY FOUNDATION SHAKEN,

T O

All serious and enquiring Persons, particularly the
Inhabitants of the City of LONDON.

By WILLIAM PENN, jun.

“He that uttereth slander is a fool.” Prov. x. 18.

“A false balance is an abomination to the Lord.” Prov. xi. 1.

Published in the Year 1668.

RELIGION, although there be nothing of greater concernment, nor which doth more essentially import the immortal happiness of men; yet such is the calamity of the age, that there is not any thing they are less solicitous about, or serious in the prosecution of, vainly imagining it to consist in the implicit subscription to, and verbal confession of, mens invented traditions and precepts, whilst they neglect that more orthodox definition of the apostle James, viz. “Pure religion and undefiled, before God, is, to visit the fatherless, and to keep himself unspotted from the world;”^a and instead thereof, believe they are performing the best of services, in sacrificing reputation, liberty, estate, if not life itself, of others to their own tenacious conceptions; because perh

^a Jam. i. 17.

though persons of more virtue, they cannot in all punctilios correspond therewith: how much I have been made an instance must needs be too notorious to any that hold the least intelligence with common fame, that scarce ever took more pains to make the proverb good, by proving herself a liar, than in my concern; who have been most egregiously slandered, reviled and defamed by pulpit, press, and talk, terming me a blasphemer, seducer, Socinian, denying the divinity of Christ the Saviour, and what not! and all this about my late answer to a disputation with some Presbyterians; but how unjustly, it is the business of this short apology to shew, which had not been thus long retarded, if an expectation first to have been brought upon my examination had not required a suspense; and if I shall acquit myself from the injurious imputations of my adversaries, I hope the cry will have an end; to which purpose, let but my innocency have your hearing in her own defence, who, as she never can detract from her intentions in what she really hath done; so will she as easily disprove her enemies, in manifesting their accusations to be fictitious: judge not before you read, neither believe any farther than you see.

I. That which I am credibly informed to be the greatest reason for my imprisonment, and that noise of blasphemy, which hath pierced so many ears of late, is, my denying the divinity of Christ, and divesting him of his eternal God-head, which most busily hath been suggested as well to those in authority, as maliciously insinuated amongst the people; wherefore let me beseech you to be impartial and considerate, in the perusal of my vindication, which being in the fear of the Almighty God, and the simplicity of scripture dialect, presented to you, I hope my innocency will appear beyond a scruple. The Proverbs, which, as most agree, intend Christ, the Saviour, speak in this manner: "By me kings reign, and princes decree justice; I (wisdom) lead in the midst of the paths
" of

“ of judgment: I was set up from everlasting;”^b to which Paul’s words allude, “ Unto them which are called (we preach) Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God;”^c from whence I conclude Christ the Saviour to be God; for otherwise God would not be himself; since if Christ be distinct from God, and yet God’s power and wisdom, God would be without his own power and wisdom; but inasmuch as it is impossible God’s power and wisdom should be distinct or divided from himself, it reasonably follows, that Christ, who is that power and wisdom, is not distinct from God, but entirely that very same God.

Next, the prophets, David and Isaiah, speak thus: “ The Lord is my light and my salvation. I will give thee for a light unto the Gentiles;” and speaking to the church, “ For the Lord shall be thine everlasting light;”^d to which the evangelist adds, concerning Christ, “ that was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. God is light, and in him is no darkness at all;”^e from whence I assert the unity of God and Christ, because though nominally distinguished, yet essentially the same divine light; for if Christ be that light, and that light be God, then is Christ God; or if God be that light, and that light be Christ, then is God Christ. Again, “ And the city had no need of the sun, for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb (Christ) is the light thereof;”^f by which the Oneness of the nature of those lights plainly appears; for since God is not God without his own glory, and that his glory lightens, (which it could never do if it were not light) and that the Lamb, or Christ, is that very same light, what can follow, but that Christ the light and God the light are One pure and eternal light?

Next, from the word Saviour, it is manifest, “ I even I am the Lord, and besides me there is no

† Prov. viii. 15, 20, 23. ^c 1 Cor. i. 24. ^d Psal. xxvii. 1. Isa. xlix. 6. and chap. lx. 20. ^e John i. 9. ^f 1 John i. 5. ^g Rev. xxi. 23.

“ Saviour:

“ Saviour: and thou shalt know no God but me, for
 “ there is no Saviour besides me. And Mary said,
 “ My spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour:” and the
 Samaritans said unto the woman, “ Now we know
 “ that this is indeed the Christ the Saviour of the
 “ world. According to his grace made manifest by
 “ the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Simon
 “ Peter to them that have obtained like precious faith
 “ with us, through the righteousness of God, and our
 “ Saviour Jesus Christ. For therefore we suffer re-
 “ proach, because we trust in the living God, who is
 “ the Saviour of all men: to the only wise God our
 “ Saviour be glory,⁸” &c.

From which I conclude Christ to be God; for if none can save, or be stiled properly a Saviour but God, and yet that Christ is said to save, and properly called a Saviour, it must needs follow, that Christ the Saviour is God.

Lastly, “ In the beginning was the (ΛΟΓΟΣ) Word,
 “ (which the Greeks sometimes understood for wis-
 “ dom and divine reason) and the Word was with
 “ God, and the Word was God: all things were made
 “ by him, and without him was not any thing made
 “ that was made. For by him were all things created
 “ that are in heaven, and that are in earth. He is
 “ before all things, and by him all things consist.
 “ Upholding all things by the Word of his power,⁹”
 &c. Wherefore I am still confirmed in the belief of
 Christ the Saviour’s divinity; for he that made all
 things, and by whom they consist and are upheld, be-
 cause before all things; he was not made nor upheld by
 another, and consequently is God: now that this
 ΛΟΓΟΣ, or Word that was made flesh, or Christ the
 light, power and wisdom of God, and Saviour of men,
 hath made all things, and is he by whom they only
 consist and are upheld, because he was before them, is

⁸ Isa. xliii. 11. Hos. xiii. 4. Luke i. 47. John iv. 42. ² Tim.
 i. 9, 10. ² Pet. i. 1. ¹ Tim. iv. 10. Jude ver. 25. ⁹ John
 i. 1. 3. Col. i. 16, 17. Heb. i. 3, 10. John i. 14.

most evident, from the recited passages of scripture; therefore he was not made, nor is he upheld by any other power than his own, and consequently is truly God. In short, this conclusive argument for the proof of Christ the Saviour's being God, should certainly persuade all sober persons of my innocence, and my adversaries malice; He that is the "everlasting wisdom, the divine power, the true light, the only Saviour, the creating word of all things, (whether visible or invisible) and their upholder by his own power, is without contradiction God;" but all these qualifications and divine properties are, by the concurrent testimonies of scripture, ascribed to the Lord Jesus Christ; therefore, without a scruple, I call and believe him really to be the mighty God. And for more ample satisfaction, let but my reply to J. Clapham¹ be perused, in which Christ's divinity and eternity are very fully asserted.

Judge then, impartial readers, (to whom I appeal in this concern) whether my Christian reputation hath not been unworthily traduced; and that those several persons who have been posting out their books against me (whilst a close prisoner) have not been beating the air, and fighting with their own shadows, in supposing what I never thought, much less writ of, to be the intention of my book; and then as furiously have fastened on me their own conceits, expecting I should feel the smart of every blow, who thus far am no ways interested in their heat.

As for my being a Socinian, I must confess I have read of one Socinus, of (what they call) a noble family in Sene, in Italy, who about the year 1574, being a young man, voluntarily did abandon the glories, pleasures and honours of the great duke of Tuscany's court at Florence, (that noted place for all worldly delicacies) and became a perpetual exile for his conscience; whose parts, wisdom, gravity and just behaviour, made him the most famous with the Polonian

¹ See Guide Mistaken.

and Transilvanian churches: but I was never baptized into his name, and therefore deny that reproachful epithet; and if in any thing I acknowledge the verity of his doctrine, it is for the truth's sake, of which, in many things, he had a clearer prospect than most of his contemporaries; but not therefore a Socinian, any more than a son of the English church, whilst esteemed a Quaker, because I justify many of her principles, since the reformation, against the Roman church.

II. As for the business of satisfaction, I am prevented by a person whose reputation is generally great amongst the Protestants of these nations; for since the doctrine against which I mostly levelled my arguments, was, ‘The impossibility of God’s forgiving sin upon
‘repentance, without Christ’s paying his justice, by
‘suffering infinite vengeance and eternal death for
‘sins past, present and to come,’ he plainly in his late discourse^k about Christ’s sufferings, against Crellius, acknowledges me no less, by granting, upon a new state of the controversy, ‘both the possibility of God’s
‘pardoning sins, as debts, without such a rigid satisfaction, and the impossibility of Christ’s so suffering for the world;’ reflecting closely upon those persons, as ‘giving so just an occasion to the church’s
‘adversaries to think they triumph over her faith,
‘whilst it is only over their mistakes, who argue with
‘more zeal than judgment:’ nay, one of the main ends which first induced me to that discourse, I find thus delivered by him, namely, If they did believe Christ came into the world to reform it, ‘that the
‘wrath of God is now revealed from heaven against
‘all unrighteousness; that his love, which is shewn to
‘the world, is to deliver them from the hand of their
‘enemies, that they might serve him in righteousness
‘and holiness all the days of their lives; they could
‘never imagine that salvation is entailed by the gospel
‘upon a mighty confidence, or vehement persuasion

^k Stillingfleet contra Crell. pag. 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274.
‘ of

of what Christ hath done and suffered for them:¹ thus doth he confess, upon my hypothesis or proposition, what I mainly contend for: and however positively I may reject or deny my adversaries unscriptural and imaginary satisfaction, let all know this, that I pretend to know no other name by which remission, atonement and salvation can be obtained, but Jesus Christ the Saviour, who is the power and wisdom of God; what apprehensions soever people may have entertained concerning me.

III. As for justification by an imputed righteousness, I still say, that whosoever believes in Christ shall have remission and justification: but then it must be such a faith as can no more live without works,^m than a body without a spirit; wherefore I conclude, that true faith comprehends evangelical obedience; and here the same Dr. Stillingfleetⁿ comes into my relief, (though it is not wanting) by a plain assertion of the necessity of obedience, viz. ‘Such who make no other condition of the gospel but believing, ought to have a care to keep their hearts sounder than their heads;’ thereby intimating the grand imperfection and danger of such a notion; and therefore (God Almighty bears me record) my design was nothing less, or more, than to wrest those beloved and sin-pleasing principles out of the hands, heads and hearts of people, that by the fond persuasion of being justified from the personal righteousness of another, without relation to their own obedience, they might not sin on upon trust, till the arrest of eternal vengeance should irrecoverably overtake them; that all might be induced to an earnest pursuit after holiness, by a circumspect observance to God’s Holy Spirit, without which none shall ever see the Lord. And (to shut up my apology for religious matters) that all may see the simplicity, scripture-doctrine, and phrase of my faith,

¹ Stillingfleet contra Crell. p. 160. ^m Jam. ii. 26. ⁿ Stillingfleet contra Crell. p. 164, 165, 166.

in the most important matters of eternal life, I shall here subjoin a short confession.

I sincerely own, and unfeignedly believe (by virtue of the sound knowledge and experience received from the gift of that holy unction, and divine grace inspired from on high) in one holy, just, merciful, almighty and eternal God, who is the Father of all things; that appeared to the holy patriarchs and prophets of old, at sundry times, and in divers manners^o; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the everlasting wisdom, divine power, true light, only Saviour and preserver of all, the same one, holy, just, merciful, almighty and eternal God, who in the fulness of time took, and was manifested in the flesh, at which time he preached (and his disciples after him) the everlasting gospel of repentance, and promise of remission of sins and eternal life, to all that heard and obeyed; who said, he that is with you (in the flesh) shall be in you, (by the spirit) and though he left them (as to the flesh) yet not comfortless, for he would come to them again, (in the spirit :) “for a little while, and they should “not see him (as to the flesh;) again, a little while “and they should see him (in the spirit;”) for the Lord (Jesus Christ) is that spirit, a manifestation whereof is given to every one to profit withal; In which Holy Spirit I believe, as the same almighty and eternal God, who, as in those times he ended all shadows, and became the infallible guide to them that walked therein, by which they were adopted heirs and co-heirs of glory^p; so am I a living witness, that the same holy, just, merciful, almighty and eternal God, is now, as then, (after this tedious night of idolatry, superstition, and human inventions, that hath overspread the world) gloriously manifested to discover and save from all iniquity, and to conduct unto the holy

^o 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6. Heb. i. 1. 1 Cor. viii. 6. ^p John i. 14.
 1 Tim. iii. 16. Mat. iv. 17. Luke xxiv. 47. John xiv. 17,
 18. Chap. xvi. 16. 2 Cor. iii. 17. 1 Cor. i. 7. Rom. viii.
 14, 17.

d of pure and endless peace; in a word, to tabernacle in men: and I also firmly believe, that without repenting and forsaking of past sins, and walking in obedience to this heavenly voice, which would guide to all truth, and establish there, remission and eternal life can never be obtained; but unto them that trust his name, and keep his commandments, they, and they only shall have right unto the tree of life¹; for whose name's sake I have been made willing to relinquish and forsake all the vain fashions, enticing pleasures, alluring honours, and glittering glories of this transitory world,² and readily to accept the portion of a fool, from this deriding generation, and become a man of sorrow, and a perpetual reproach to my families; yea, and with the greatest cheerfulness can obdurate and confirm, (with no less zeal, than the loss of whatsoever this doting world accounts dear) this shameful confession; having my eye fixed upon a more alluring substance and lasting inheritance³; and being fully assured, that when time shall be no more, I shall (if faithful hereunto) possess the mansions of eternal life, and be received into his everlasting habitation of rest and glory.

IV. Lastly, it may not be unreasonable to observe, that however industrious some (and those dissenters who) have been to represent me as a person disturbing civil peace, I have not violated any truly fundamental law which relates to external property and good behaviour, and not to religious apprehensions; being the constant principle of myself and friends, to maintain good works, and keep our consciences void of offence, paying active or passive obedience, imitable to the meek example of our Lord Jesus Christ. Nor would I have any ignorant how forward was by messages, letters and visits, to deterred this debate in a sober and sedate manner, notwithstanding the rude entertainments.

Ev. xxi. 3. Prov. xxviii. 13. Luke xxi. Chap. xxii. 14. Mat. x. 37.

before; but, contrary to their own appointments, our adversaries failed us, which necessitated me to that defence; and finding the truth so preſt with ſlander, I cannot but ſay I ſaw my juſt call to her relief: but, alas! how have thoſe two or three extemporary ſheets been toſt, tumbled, and torn on all hands, yea, aggravated to a monſtrous deſign, even the ſubverſion of the Chriſtian religion, than which there could be nothing more repugnant to my principle and purpoſe; wherefore how very intemperate as well as unjuſt have all my adversaries been in their revilings, ſlanders and defamations! uſing the moſt opprobrious terms of ‘Seducer, heretick, blaſphemer, deceiver, Socinian, Pelagian, Simon Magus, impiouſly robbing Chriſt of his divinity, for whom the vengeance of the great day is reſerved,’ &c. Nor have theſe things been whiſpered, but, in one book and pulpit after another, have more or leſs been thundered out againſt me, as if ſome bull had lately been arrived from Rome; and all this acted under the foul pretence of zeal and love to Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe meek and gentle example always taught it for a principal mark of true Chriſtianity, to ſuffer the moſt outrageous injuries, but never to return any; nay, if my adversaries would but be juſt and conſtant to themſelves, how can they offer to conſpire my deſtruction upon a religious ground, who either are themſelves under a preſent limitation, or have been formerly by the Papiſts? tell me, I pray, did Luther, that grand reformer, whom you ſo much reverence; juſtly demand from the emperor at the diet of Worms (where he was ſummoned to appear) that none ſhould fit judge upon his doctrines but the ſcripture; and in caſe they ſhould be caſt, that no other ſentence ſhould be paſſed upon him, than what Gamaliel offered to the Jewish council, If it were not of God it would not ſtand;” and

‘ See T. Vincent’s late railing piece againſt the Quakers, alſo T. Danſon’s and Dr. Owen’s. Mat. v. 39, 40. ” Coun. Treat. P. 14.

you will not censure him who first of all arraigned the Christian world (so called) at the bar of his private judgment, (that had so many hundred years soundly slept, without so much as giving one considerable shrug or turn, during that tedious winter-
 night of dark apostacy) but justify his proceedings, when you so furiously assault others? But, above all, you, who refuse conformity to others, and that have been writing these eight years for liberty of conscience, and take it at this very season by an indulgent con-
 vance; what pregnant testimonies do you give of your unwillingness to grant that to others you so earnestly beg for yourselves? Doth it not discover your justice, and plainly express that only want of power renders you to act? But of all Protestants in general demand, do you believe that persecution to be Christian in yourselves, that you condemned for anti-Christian in the Papists? You judged it a weakness in their religion, and is it a cogent argument in yours? I say, is it not the readiest way to enhance and propagate the reputation of what you would depress? If you were displeased at their assuming an infallibility, will you believe it impossible in yourselves to err? Have Whitaker, Reynolds, Laud, Owen, Baxter, Billingfleet, Poole, &c. disarmed the Romanists of these inhuman weapons, that you might employ them against your inoffensive countrymen? Let the example and holy precepts of Christ dissuade you, who came not to destroy, but save; and soberly reflect upon his equal law of doing as you would be done unto. Remember I have not dethroned a divinity, subverted truth, made void obedience, nor frustrated the hope of an eternal recompence; much less have I injured your persons, or in any thing deviated from that *ἡ ἐνδεσὸς* and *συντήρησις*, or holy principle, so much insisted on by philosophers and lawyers as the original of good laws, and life: no, your own consciences all advocate on my behalf. Let it suffice then, that we who are nicknamed Quakers have, under every resolution of power and religion, been the most re-

viled, contemned and persecuted, as if God indeed “ had set us forth in these last days as a spectacle to “ the world, to angels and to men ”;” and treated as if, by being what we are, our common right and interest in human societies were forfeited; neither accept that for a true measure of our life and doctrines, which hath been taken. by the ill-will or ignorance of others; but rather make an impartial examination, that what you judge may be from what you know, and not from what you hear at second-hand; and then we shall as little question your just opinion of our innocence, as we have too much been made sensible of the sad effects that follow an ignorant and unadvised zeal: for so monstrously fond are some of their persuasions, and doting on the patrons of them, that they seldom have discretion, much less religious desires, to consider how true or false another religion is, or what may be the consequence of its toleration; but with a fury, not inferior to their ignorance, cry Crucify, crucify; and pharisee-like, out of pretence of honour and service done to God Almighty, and the memory of his holy prophets, stick not to persecute his beloved Son, and righteous servants; so cruel, blind, and obstinate is persecution: be therefore advised in the words of that meek example Jesus Christ; call not for fire any more: let the tares grow with the wheat; neither employ that sword any more, which was commanded to be sheathed so many hundred years ago; suppose we were enemies to the true religion; but have a care you are not upon one of Saul’s errands to Damascus, and helping the mighty against God and his anointed; and rather chuse by fair and moderate debates (not penalties ratified by imperial decrees) to determine religious differences; so will you at least obtain tranquillity, which may be called a civil-unity. But if you are resolved severity shall take its course, in this our case can never change, nor happiness abate; for no human edict can possibly deprive us of

glorious presence, who is able to make the dismal-prisons so many receptacles of pleasure, and whose heavenly fellowship doth unspeakably replenish our tary souls with divine consolation; by whose holy, ~~nk~~, and harmless spirit I have been taught most sly to forgive, and not less earnestly to solicit the temporal and eternal good of all my adversaries. Fare-
l.

WILLIAM PENN, jun.

A questionnaire POSTSCRIPT.

VHERE doth the scripture say, that Christ suffered an eternal death, and infinite vengeance? did not Christ rise the third day? And is not infinite vengeance and eternal death without end? And hath not God say he was well-pleased with his Son before his death? And was not his offering accepted? And did not the apostle say, that the saints were accepted in Christ that was God's beloved? And this after Christ died and rose; and God was said to be well-pleased with his Son, both before he suffered, in his suffering, and after he suffered, though displeased with those that caused him to suffer,

A
LETTER OF LOVE
TO THE
YOUNG-CONVINCED

OF
That Blessed Everlasting Way of TRUTH and
RIGHTEOUSNESS

Now testified unto by the People of the LORD called

QUAKERS,

of what Sex, Age, and Rank soever, in the Nations
of ENGLAND, IRELAND, and SCOTLAND, with the
ISLES abroad, but more particularly to those of
that Great City of LONDON,

Spiritual Refreshments, Holy Courage, and Perfect
Victory from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus
CHRIST. Amen.

Published in the Year 1669.

My dearly beloved Friends and Brethren,

WHO have been called by the Eternal Spirit un-
to an holy calling, out of all the pleasures,
vanities, customs, profits and cares of this perishing
polluted world, unto the pure knowledge of the ever-
living God, and "Jesus in you, the hope of glory,"
which, to as many as believe and obey, shall bring
forth the fruit of life; and who, for that little be-
yonding journey, have met with reproaches and
bitter trials; as one among

through obedience to that pure light and truth in the inward parts, which leads to all meekness, patience and purity, the quickening of the new man; and sensibly witness a bearing of the heavenly image, that so we may come to feel the “Peace that passeth the world’s understanding,” and our poor, tossed, tried, and troubled spirits, in good measure fixed and anchored in the immoveable and holy state, over all the glories and pollutions of the world; that so nothing may ever prevail upon us to return into our former ways and lusts, committed in our ignorance: for the overflowing scourge of the Almighty will be upon the back of the backslider, and his swift wrath will overtake the heart that faints by the way; yea, better were it that such had never been visited with the glorious day-spring from on high, nor been convinced by the powerful persuasions of the Holy Spirit, concerning the pure eternal way of TRUTH than afterwards to turn from it, and so trample the blood of that most excellent covenant under foot: yea, it will be the most dreadful of all aggravations to their eternal woe and misery.

And therefore, my dear friends, let us not be discomforted under all our sharp and heavy exercises, whether from within or without. For this I am fully persuaded of, that the same pure principle of light and truth that hath appeared to give a certain discerning of our states and conditions, and wrought a conviction upon our understandings, is able to give us that succour and support, if our minds be but seriously stayed thereon, “as shall sanctify us throughout, in body, soul, and spirit; and so preserve us clean, to God over all.”

And, my dear brethren, let us not enter into any murmurings against the Lord, but be singly given up to know his will and work done in us, that we perish not, as those of old. And in the tender love of Jesus Christ, I earnestly intreat you, let us no more look back upon our ancient pastimes and delights (but with holy resolution press on, press on); for they will steal away

away our precious souls, beget new desire, raise the old life, and finally ensnare and pollute our minds again; and what will be the end of such rebellion, but woes and tribulations from the hand of the just God, world without end? Neither let us enter into many reasonings with the opposers; for that is the life God's power is revealed to slay with the two-edged sword: for it is the still, the quiet, and the righteous life, which must be exalted over all. And this I say in a sound understanding, through the mercies of the Lord, that deadness, darkness, and anguish of spirit will be the end of such disputing and pragmatical Christians, whose religion consists much more in words than works, confessing than forsaking, and in their own will-performances and external observations, than in the reformation and conversion of their souls to God. And finally, we ourselves, who have known something more of the Lord, may also reduce our good conditions to an utter loss, by seeking to comprehend dubious matters in our understandings, and disputing about them with every opposer, whom the devil, in a way of temptation, shall present to us; which does no way advance our growth and increase in the noble principle of truth.

And I beseech you, my dear friends, let not the fear of any external thing overcome the holy resolutions we have made to follow the Lamb Christ Jesus, through all the tribulations, trials and temptations, he and his followers ever met withal. O let us be valiant in God's cause on earth, who have but a short time, and a few days to live.

And let the *constancy* of the *world* to the momentary fashions, pleasures, and pollutions of it, the more ardently stir us up to express *ours* for the honour of our God against them all; who will reward us for whatsoever we bear, suffer, or part withal, on his account.

And therefore, I beseech you, let neither father nor mother, sister nor brother, wife nor child, house nor land, liberties, nor life itself, deter us from our holy
constancy;

constancy; but, as the faithful ancients did of old, through deserts, wildernesses, and solitary places, goat-skins, and sheep-skins, endure all torments, and bitter mockings, in this earthly pilgrimage, for the inheritance which is everlasting; so, my dear friends, let us do, as we have them for our example. However, let us be careful to shew all due respect to our relations, not to be exalted, nor any ways unruly, lest there be just cause taken against us, and the blessed truth should suffer: but in the still, retired, holy, and patient life, this pure eternal principle of light and truth (as seriously and diligently waited on) certainly brings into, let us all wait and abide; so shall we feel the powerful operation of God's Holy Spirit, to the more complete redeeming of our exercised souls from under the dominion of sin, and to the giving all of us a clearer understanding, and sounder judgment, of those things that are to be parted from, (as the pleasures, cares, and customs of the world, that stand in the fallen nature, and only nourish the same, but crucify the self-denying Lord of glory) and of the things of God, and his spiritual kingdom, which are to be adhered to; that in his pure wisdom, which is from above, we may be all kept and preserved over all the snares and temptations of the adversary, both on the right hand and on the left.

And as one that is a traveller in his way, I even beseech, caution, and admonish you all, in the holy awe of God, that you never forbear meeting and assembling of yourselves with the holy remnant amongst whom we first received our blessed conviction. Oh! for ever let us honour the Lord's truth, and those who do sincerely profess the same! But more especially such as were in Christ before us; for this is well pleasing unto the Lord.

And let us beware of lightness, jesting, or a careless mind, which grieves the Holy Spirit, "that stands ready to seal us unto the day of our perfect redemption," but let us be grave, weighty and temperate,
keep-

keeping low in body, as well as in mind, that in all things we may be examples, and a sweet favour for the God who hath loved and called us.

And, my dear friends, let us keep in the simplicity of the cross of Jesus, even in plainness of speech, and out of the world's flattering and deceitful respects; for we are as well to be a cross in our garbs, gaits, dealings, and salutations, as religion and worship, to this vain adulterated and apostatized generation. So in the pure measure of truth that hath been manifested to every particular, and has convinced us of the unrighteousness of the world, and the vanity and emptiness of all its professions of God, Christ, and religion, oh! let us stand and abide! that we may feel it to be our refuge, and strong tower, when the enemy shall approach, either by inward exercise, or outward bonds and sufferings, which in all likelihood will suddenly overtake us, for the trial of our most precious faith; so shall we sensibly experience that heavenly blood of cleansing to stream therefrom, which only can give remission, cleanse from all sin, and finally purge the conscience from dead works, to serve the living, everlasting, holy God Almighty, Lord of hosts, King of nations, and King of saints. "And whatsoever things
 " are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever
 " things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatso-
 " ever things are lovely, and whatsoever things are
 " of good report; if there be any virtue, if there be
 " any praise, O let us mind these things! And the
 " God of peace, that has by his eternal quickening
 " power raised Jesus in thousands from the dead, bless,
 " accompany, and preserve us over all trials and tri-
 " bulations, unto his eternal habitations of rest and
 " glory."

Your brother and fellow-traveller in the king-
 dom and patience of Jesus our Lord,

Carberry, in the county of
 Cork, the 19th of the
 12th month, 1669.

W. P.

T H E

T H E

People's Ancient and Just Liberties

A S S E R T E D,

I N T H E T R I A L O F

WILLIAM PENN and WILLIAM MEAD,

**At the Sessions held at the Old BAILEY, in LONDON,
the 1st, 3d, 4th and 5th of SEPTEMBER 1672.**

A G A I N S T T H E

M O S T A R B I T R A R Y P R O C E D U R E

O F T H A T

C O U R T.

To the English R E A D E R.

IF ever it were time to speak, or write, it is now; so many strange occurrences requiring both.

How much thou art concerned in this ensuing trial, (where not only the prisoners, but the fundamental LAWS of England, have been most arbitrarily arraigned) read, and thou mayest plainly judge.

Liberty of conscience is counted a pretence for rebellion; and religious assemblies, routs and riots; and the defenders of both are by them reputed factious and disaffected.

Magna charta is magna far-- with the recorder of London; and to demand right, an affront to the court.

Will and power are their great charter; but to call for England's, is a crime, incurring the penalty of their bale-dock and nasty hole; nay, the menace of a gag, and iron shackles too.

The jury (though proper judges of law and fact) they would have over-ruled in both: as if their verdict signified no more, than to echo back the illegal charge of the bench. And because their courage and honesty did more than hold pace with the threat and abuse of those who sat as judges (after two days and two nights restraint for a verdict) in the end they were fined and imprisoned for giving it.

Oh! what monstrous and illegal proceedings are these! Who reasonably can call his coat his own, when property is made subservient to the will and interest of his judges? Or, who can truly esteem himself a free man, when all pleas for liberty are esteemed sedition, and the laws that give and maintain them, so many insignificant pieces of formality.

And what do they less than plainly tell us so, who at will and pleasure break open our locks, rob our houses,

houses, raze our foundations, imprison our persons, and finally deny us justice to our relief? As if they then acted most like Christian men, when they were most barbarous, in ruining such as are really so; and that no sacrifice could be so acceptable to God, as the destruction of those that most fear him.

In short, that the conscientious should only be obnoxious, and the just demand of our religious liberty the reason why we should be denied our civil freedom (as if to be a Christian and an Englishman were inconsistent); and that so much solicitude and deep contrivance should be employed only to ensnare and ruin so many ten thousand conscientious families (so eminently industrious, serviceable, and exemplary; whilst murders can so easily obtain pardon, rapes be remitted, publick uncleanness pass unpunished, and all manner of levity, prodigality, excess, profaneness, and atheism, universally connived at, if not in some respect manifestly encouraged) cannot but be detestibly abhorrent to every serious and honest mind.

Yet that this lamentable state is true, and the present project in hand, let London's recorder, and Canterbury's chaplain, be heard.

The first, in his publick panegyrick upon the Spanish Inquisition, 'highly admiring the prudence of the Romish church in the erection of it, as an excellent way to prevent schism.' Which unhappy expression at once passeth sentence, both against our fundamental laws, and Protestant reformation.

The second, in his printed mercenary discourse against toleration, asserting for a main principle, 'That it would be less injurious to the government to dispense with profane and loose persons, than to allow a toleration to religious dissenters.'—It were to overdo the business to say any more, where there is so much said already.

And therefore to conclude, we cannot chuse but admonish all, as well persecutors to relinquish their heady, partial, and inhuman persecutions (as what
will

certainly issue in disgrace here, and inevitable
 sign punishment hereafter); as those who yet dare
 els their moderation (however out of fashion, or
 e the brand of fanaticism) not to be huffed, or
 aced out of that excellent temper, to make their
 s and persons subject to the base humours and fi-
 r designs of the biggest mortal upon earth; but
 rence and obey the eternal just God, before whose
 t tribunal all must render their accounts, and
 re he will recompense to every person according
 is works.

T H E
T R I A L.

AS there can be no observation, where there is no action; so it is impossible there shall be a judicious intelligence, without due observation.

And since there can be nothing more reasonable than a right information, especially of publick acts; and well knowing how industrious some will be to misrepresent this trial, to the disadvantage of the cause and prisoners; it was thought requisite, in defence of both, and for the satisfaction of the people, to make it more publick. Nor can there be any business wherein the people of England are more concerned, than in that which relates to their civil and religious liberties, questioned in the persons before named at the Old Bailey, the first, third, fourth and fifth of September 1670.

There being present on the bench, as justices,

Sam. Starling, mayor.
John Howell, recorder.
Tho. Bludworth, alderm.
William Peak, alderm.
Richard Ford, alderm.

John Robinson, alderm.
Joseph Sheldon, alderm.
Richard Brown,
John Smith, } sheriffs.
James Edwards, }

The citizens of London that were summoned for jurors, appearing, were impanelled; viz.

Cle. Call over the jury.

Cry. Oyes, Thomas Veer, Ed. Bushel, John Hammond, Charles Milson, Gregory Walklet, John Brightman, Will. Plumstead, Henry Henley, James Damask, Henry Michel, Will. Lever, John Baily.

The

The form of the OATH.

- ‘ You shall well and truly try, and true deliverance
 ‘ make betwixt our sovereign lord the king, and
 ‘ the prisoners at the bar, according to your evi-
 ‘ dence. So help you God.’

The INDICTMENT.

- ‘ That William Penn, gent. and William Mead,
 ‘ late of London, linen-draper, with divers other
 ‘ persons to the jurors unknown, to the number
 ‘ of three hundred, the 15th day of August, in
 ‘ the 22d year of the king, about eleven of the
 ‘ clock in the forenoon of the same day, with
 ‘ force and arms, &c. in the parish of St. Bennet
 ‘ Grace-church, in Bridge-ward, London, in the
 ‘ street called Gracechurch-street, unlawfully and
 ‘ tumultuously did assemble and congregate them-
 ‘ selves together, to the disturbance of the peace of
 ‘ the said lord the king: and the aforesaid William
 ‘ Penn and William Mead, together with other
 ‘ persons to the jurors aforesaid unknown, then
 ‘ and there so assembled and congregated toge-
 ‘ ther; the aforesaid William Penn, by agree-
 ‘ ment between him and William Mead before
 ‘ made, and by abetment of the aforesaid Wil-
 ‘ liam Mead, then and there, in the open street,
 ‘ did take upon himself to preach and speak, and
 ‘ then and there did preach and speak, unto the
 ‘ aforesaid William Mead, and other persons there
 ‘ in the street aforesaid, being assembled and con-
 ‘ gregated together; by reason whereof a great
 ‘ concourse and tumult of people in the street
 ‘ aforesaid, then and there, a long time did re-
 ‘ main and continue, in contempt of the said
 ‘ lord the king, and of his law; to the great dis-
 ‘ turbance of his peace, to the great terror and
 ‘ disturbance of many of his liege people and
 ‘ subjects, to the ill example of all others in the
- Q 2
- ‘ like

‘ like case offenders, and against the peace of the
 ‘ said lord the king, his crown and dignity.’

What say you William Penn, and William Mead?
 Are you guilty, as you stand indicted, in manner and
 form as aforesaid, or not guilty? ●

Penn. It is impossible that we should be able to
 remember the indictment *verbatim*, and therefore we
 desire a copy of it, as is customary on the like occa-
 sions.

Rec. You must first plead to the indictment, before
 you can have a copy of it.

Penn. I am unacquainted with the formality of the
 law, and therefore before I shall answer directly, I re-
 quest two things of the court. First, That no ad-
 vantage may be taken against me, nor I deprived of
 any benefit, which I might otherwise have received.
 Secondly, That you will promise me a fair hearing,
 and liberty of making my defence.

Court. No advantage shall be taken against you:
 you shall have liberty; you shall be heard.

Penn. Then I plead Not guilty, in manner and
 form.

Cle. What sayest thou, William Mead? Art thou
 guilty in manner and form, as thou standest indicted,
 or not guilty?

Mead. I shall desire the same liberty as is promised
 to William Penn.

Court. You shall have it.

Mead. Then I plead Not guilty, in manner and
 form.

The court adjourned until the afternoon.

Cry. Oyes, &c.

Cle. Bring William Penn and William Mead to the
 bar.

Obser. The said prisoners were brought, but were
 set aside, and other business prosecuted. Where
 we cannot chuse but observe, that it was the con-
 stant

stant and unkind practice of the court to the prisoners, to make them wait upon the trials of felons and murderers, thereby designing, in all probability, both to affront and tire them. After five hours attendance, the court broke up, and adjourned to the third instant.

The third of September 1670, the court sat.

Cry. Oyes, &c.

Mayor. Sirrah, Who bid you put off their hats? Put on their hats again.

Obfer. Whereupon one of the officers putting the prisoners hats upon their heads (pursuant to the order of the court) brought them to the bar.

Record. Do you know where you are?

Penn. Yes.

Rec. Do you know it is the king's court?

Penn. I know it to be a court, and I suppose it to be the king's court.

Rec. Do you know there is respect due to the court?

Penn. Yes.

Rec. Why do you not pay it then?

Penn. I do so.

Rec. Why do you not put off your hat then?

Penn. Because I do not believe that to be any respect.

Rec. Well, the court sets forty marks a-piece upon your heads, as a fine, for your contempt of the court.

Penn. I desire it may be observed, that we came into the court with our hats off (that is, taken off) and if they have been put on since, it was by order from the bench; and therefore not we, but the bench, should be fined.

Mead. I have a question to ask the recorder: Am I fined also?

Rec. Yes.

Mead. I desire the jury, and all people, to take notice of this injustice of the recorder, who spake not to me to pull off my hat, and yet hath he put a fine

upon my head. O! fear the Lord, and dread his power, and yield to the guidance of his Holy Spirit; for he is not far from every one of you.

The jury sworn again.

Obfer. J. Robinson, lieutenant of the Tower, difingenuoufly objected againft Edward Bushel, as if he had not kissed the book, and therefore would have him sworn again; though indeed it was on purpose to have made use of his tendernefs of confcience, in avoiding reiterated oaths, to have put him by his being a juryman, apprehending him to be a person not fit to answer their arbitrary ends.

The clerk read the indictment as aforefaid.

Cle. Call James Cook into the court, give him his oath.

Cle. James Cook, lay your hand upon the book;
 ‘ The evidence you fhall give to the court, betwixt
 ‘ our fovereign the king, and the prifoners at the bar,
 ‘ fhall be the truth, and the whole truth, and nothing
 ‘ but the truth. So help you God,’ &c.

Cook. I was fent for from the Exchange, to go and difperfe a meeting in Gracious-ftreet, where I faw Mr. Penn fpeaking to the people, but I could not hear what he faid, becaufe of the noife. I endeavoured to make way to take him, but I could not get to him for the croud of people. Upon which Captain Mead came to me, about the kennel of the ftreet, and defired me to let him go on; for when he had done, he would bring Mr. Penn to me.

Court. What number do you think might be there?

Cook. About three or four hundred people.

Court. Call Richard Read, give him his oath.

Read being sworn, was asked, What do you know concerning the prifoners at the bar?

Read. My lord, I went to Gracious-ftreet, where I found a great croud of people, and I heard Mr. Penn preach to them; and I faw Captain Mead fpeaking to Lieutenant Cook, but what he faid I could not tell,

Mead.

Mead. What did William Penn say?

Read. There was such a great noise, that I could not tell what he said.

Mead. Jury, observe this evidence; he saith, he heard him preach; and yet saith, he doth not know what he said.

Jury, take notice, he swears now a clean contrary thing to what he swore before the mayor, when we were committed: for now he swears that he saw me in Gracious-street, and yet swore before the mayor, when I was committed, that he did not see me there. I appeal to the mayor himself if this be not true? (But no answer was given.)

Court. What number do you think might be there?

Read. About four or five hundred.

Penn. I desire to know of him what day it was?

Read. The 14th day of August.

Penn. Did he speak to me, or let me know he was there? For I am very sure I never saw him.

Cle. Crier, call — into the court.

Court. Give him his oath.

—— My lord, I saw a great number of people, and Mr. Penn I suppose was speaking. I saw him make a motion with his hands, and heard some noise, but could not understand what he said. But for Captain Mead, I did not see him there.

Rec. What say you, Mr. Mead? Were you there?

Mead. It is a maxim in your own law, *Nemo tenetur accusare seipsum*; which if it be not true Latin, I am sure that it is true English, ‘That no man is bound to accuse himself.’ And why dost thou offer to ensnare me with such a question? Doth not this shew thy malice? Is this like unto a judge, that ought to be counsel for the prisoner at the bar?

Rec. Sir, hold your tongue; I did not go about to ensnare you.

Penn. I desire we may come more close to the point, and that silence be commanded in the court.

Cry. Oyes! All manner of persons keep silence, upon pain of imprisonment.—Silence in the court.

Penn. We confess ourselves to be so far from recanting, or declining to vindicate the assembling of ourselves, to preach, pray, or worship the eternal, holy, just God, that we declare to all the world, that we do believe it to be our indispensable duty to meet incessantly upon so good an account; nor shall all the powers upon earth be able to divert us from reverencing and adoring our God, who made us.

Brown. You are not here for worshipping God, but for breaking the law. You do yourselves a great deal of wrong in going on in that discourse.

Penn. I affirm I have broken no law, nor am I guilty of the indictment that is laid to my charge. And to the end the bench, the jury, and myself, with those that hear us, may have a more direct understanding of this procedure, I desire you would let me know by what law it is you prosecute me, and upon what law you ground my indictment.

Rec. Upon the common law.

Penn. Where is that common law?

Rec. You must not think that I am able to run up so many years, and over so many adjudged cases, which we call common law, to answer your curiosity.

Penn. This answer I am sure is very short of my question; for if it be common, it should not be so hard to produce.

Rec. Sir, will you plead to your indictment?

Penn. Shall I plead to an indictment that hath no foundation in law? If it contain that law you say I have broken, why should you decline to produce that law, since it will be impossible for the jury to determine, or agree to bring in the verdict, who have not the law produced, by which they should measure the truth of this indictment, and the guilt, or contrary, of my fact.

Rec. You are saucy, fellow. Speak to the indictment.

Penn. I say it is my place to speak to matter of law. I am arraigned a prisoner; my liberty, which is next to life itself, is now concerned. You are many mouths

mouths and ears against me; and if I must not be allowed to make the best of my case, it is hard. I say again, unless you shew me, and the people, the law you ground your indictment upon, I shall take it for granted your proceedings are merely arbitrary.

Obser. At this time several upon the bench urged hard upon the prisoner to bear him down.

Rec. The question is, Whether you are guilty of this indictment?

Penn. The question is not whether I am guilty of this indictment, but whether this indictment be legal. It is too general and imperfect an answer, to say it is the common law, unless we both knew where, and what it is. For where there is no law, there is no transgression; and that law which is not in being, is so far from being common, that it is no law at all.

Rec. You are an impertinent fellow. Will you teach the court what law is? It is *lex non scripta*; that which many have studied thirty or forty years to know; and would you have me tell you in a moment?

Penn. Certainly, if the common law be so hard to be understood, it is far from being very common. But if the Lord Coke, in his 'Institutes,' be of any consideration, he tells us, 'That common law is common right; and that common right is the great charter privileges, confirmed 9 Hen. 3. 29. 25 Edw. 1. 1. 2 Edw. 3. 8.' Coke Inst. 2. p. 56.

Rec. Sir, you are a troublesome fellow, and it is not for the honour of the court to suffer you to go on.

Penn. I have asked but one question, and you have not answered me; though the rights and privileges of every Englishman be concerned in it.

Rec. If I should suffer you to ask questions till to-morrow morning, you would be never the wiser.

Penn. That is according as the answers are.

Rec. Sir, we must not stand to hear you talk all night.

Penn. I design no affront to the court, but to be heard in my just plea. And I must plainly tell you, that if you will deny me the Oyer of that law, which you suggest

suggest I have broken, you do at once deny me an acknowledged right, and evidence to the whole world your resolution to sacrifice the privileges of Englishmen to your sinister and arbitrary designs.

Rec. Take him away. My lord, if you take not some course with this pestilent fellow, to stop his mouth, we shall not be able to do any thing to-night.

Mayor. Take him away, take him away; turn him into the bale-dock.

Penn. These are but so many vain exclamations. Is this justice, or true judgment? Must I therefore be taken away because I plead for the fundamental laws of England? However, this I leave upon your consciences, who are of the jury, (and my sole judges) that if these ancient fundamental laws, which relate to LIBERTY and PROPERTY, (and are not limited to particular persuasions in matters of religion) must not be indispensably maintained and observed, 'Who can say he hath a right to the coat upon his back?' Certainly our liberties are openly to be invaded; our wives to be ravished; our children slaved; our families ruined; and our estates led away in triumph, by every sturdy beggar, and malicious informer, as their trophies, but our (pretended) forfeits for conscience sake. The Lord of heaven and earth will be judge between us in this matter.

Rec. Be silent there.

Penn. I am not to be silent in a case wherein I am so much concerned; and not only myself, but many ten thousand families besides.

Obser. They having rudely haled him into the bale-dock, William Mead they left in court, who spake as followeth.

Mead. You men of the jury, here I do now stand to answer to an indictment against me, which is a bundle of stuff, full of lies and falsehood; for therein I am accused that I met *vi & armis, illicitè & tumultuosè*. Time was, when I had freedom to use a carnal weapon, and then I thought, I feared no man; but
now

now I fear the living God, and dare not make use thereof, nor hurt any man; nor do I know I demeaned myself as a tumultuous person. I say, I am a peaceable man; therefore it is a very proper question what William Penn demanded in this case, ‘an Oyer of the law on which our indictment is grounded.’

Rec. I have made answer to that already.

Mead. [Turning his face to the jury, said] You men of the jury, who are my judges, if the recorder will not tell you what makes a riot, a rout, or an unlawful assembly, Coke, he that once they called the Lord Coke, tells us what makes a riot, a rout, and an unlawful assembly.—‘A riot is when three, or more, are met together to beat a man, or to enter forcibly into another man’s land, to cut down his grafs, his wood, or break down his pales.’

Obfer. Here the recorder interrupted him, and said, ‘I thank you, fir, that you will tell me what the law is.’ (Scornfully pulling off his hat.)

Mead. Thou mayest put on thy hat; I have never a fee for thee now.

Brown. He talks at random; one while an Independent, another while some other religion, and now a Quaker, and next a Papist.

Mead. *Turpe est doctori cum culpa redarguit ipsum.*

Mayor. You deserve to have your tongue cut out.

Rec. If you discourse in this manner, I shall take occasion against you.

Mead. Thou didst promise me I should have fair liberty to be heard. Why may I not have the privilege of an Englishman? I am an Englishman; and you might be ashamed of this dealing.

Rec. I look upon you to be an enemy to the laws of England, which ought to be observed and kept; nor are you worthy of such privileges as others have.

Mead. The Lord is judge between me and thee in this matter.

Obfer. Upon which they took him away into the bale-dock, and the recorder proceeded to give the jury their charge, as followeth.

Rec.

Rec. You have heard what the indictment is; it is for preaching to the people, and drawing a tumultuous company after them; and Mr. Penn was speaking. If they should not be disturbed, you see they will go on. There are three or four witnesses that have proved this, that he did preach there, that Mr. Mead did allow of it. After this, you have heard by substantial witnesses what is said against them. Now we are upon the matter of fact, which you are to keep to and observe, as what hath been fully sworn, at your peril.

Obser. The prisoners were put out of the court, into the bale-dock, and the charge given to the jury in their absence. At which W. P. with a very raised voice, (it being a considerable distance from the bench) spake.

Penn. I appeal to the jury, who are my judges, and this great assembly, whether the proceedings of the court are not most arbitrary, and void of all law, in offering to give the jury their charge in the absence of the prisoners. I say, it is directly opposite to, and destructive of, the undoubted right of every English prisoner, as Coke, in the 2 Inst. 29. on the chapter of Magna Charta, speaks.

Obser. The recorder being thus unexpectedly lashed for his extrajudicial procedure, said, with an enraged smile,

Rec. Why ye are present, you do hear: do you not?

Penn. No thanks to the court, that commanded me into the bale-dock. And you of the jury take notice, that I have not been heard, neither can you legally depart the court, before I have been fully heard; having at least ten or twelve material points to offer, in order to invalidate their indictment.

Rec. Pull that fellow down; pull him down.

Mead. Are these according to the rights and privileges of Englishmen, that we should not be heard, but turned into the bale-dock, for making our defence,

fence, and the jury to have their charge given them in our absence? I say, these are barbarous and unjust proceedings.

Rec. Take them away into the hole. To hear them talk all night, as they would, that I think doth not become the honour of the court; and I think you (i. e. the jury) yourselves would be tired out, and not have patience to hear them.

Obser. The jury were commanded up to agree upon their verdict, the prisoners remaining in the stinking hole. After an hour and a half's time, eight came down agreed, but four remained above; the court sent an officer for them, and they accordingly came down. The bench used many unworthy threats to the four that dissented; and the recorder, addressing himself to Bushel, said, Sir, you are the cause of this disturbance, and manifestly shew yourself an abettor of faction; I shall set a mark upon you, Sir.

J. Robinson. Mr. Bushel, I have known you near these fourteen years; you have thrust yourself upon this jury, because you think there is some service for you. I tell you, you deserve to be indicted more than any man that hath been brought to the bar this day.

Bushel. No, Sir John; there were threescore before me; and I would willingly have got off, but could not.

Bludw. I said, when I saw Mr. Bushel, what I see is come to pass: for I knew he would never yield. Mr. Bushel, we know what you are.

Mayor. Sirrah, you are an impudent fellow; I will put a mark upon you.

Obser. They used much menacing language, and behaved themselves very imperiously to the jury, as persons not more void of justice, than sober education. After this barbarous usage, they sent them to consider of bringing in their verdict; and after some considerable time they returned to

to the court. Silence was called for, and the jury called by their names.

Cle. Are you agreed upon your verdict?

Jury. Yes.

Cle. Who shall speak for you?

Jury. Our foreman.

Cle. Look upon the prisoners at the bar: how say you? Is William Penn guilty of the matter whereof he stands indicted in manner and form, or not guilty?

Foreman. Guilty of speaking in Gracious-street.

Court. Is that all?

Foreman. That is all I have in commission.

Rec. You had as good say nothing.

Mayor. Was it not an unlawful assembly? You mean he was speaking to a tumult of people there?

Foreman. My lord, this was all I had in commission.

Obser. Here some of the jury seemed to buckle to the questions of the court; upon which Bushel, Hammond, and some others, opposed themselves, and said, ‘They allowed of no such word, as an ‘unlawful assembly, in their verdict.’ At which the recorder, mayor, Robinson, and Bludworth, took great occasion to vilify them with most opprobrious language; and this verdict not serving their turns, the recorder expressed himself thus:

Rec. The law of England will not allow you to depart, till you have given in your verdict.

Jury. We have given in our verdict, and we can give in no other.

Rec. Gentlemen, you have not given in your verdict, and you had as good say nothing. Therefore go and consider it once more, that we may make an end of this troublesome business.

Jury. We desire we may have pen, ink, and paper.

Obser. The court adjourns for half an hour; which being expired, the court returns, and the jury not long after.

The

The prisoners were brought to the bar, and the jurors names called over.

Cle. Are you agreed of your verdict?

Jury. Yes.

Cle. Who shall speak for you?

Jury. Our foreman.

Cle. What say you? Look upon the prisoners: Is William Penn guilty in manner and form, as he stands indicted, or not guilty?

Foreman. Here is our verdict (holding forth a piece of paper to the clerk of the peace, which follows):

WE the jurors, hereafter named, do find William Penn to be guilty of speaking or preaching to an assembly, met together in Gracious-street, the 14th of August last 1670; and that William Mead is not guilty of the said indictment.

Foreman,	Thomas Veer,	Charles Milson,
	Edward Bushel,	Gregory Walklet,
	John Hammond,	John Bailey,
	Henry Henly,	William Lever,
	Henry Michel,	James Damask,
	John Brightman,	William Plumstead

Obser. This both mayor and recorder resented at so high a rate, that they exceeded the bounds of all reason and civility.

Mayor. What! will you be led by such a silly fellow as Bushel! an impudent canting fellow? I warrant you, you shall come no more upon juries in haste: you are a foreman indeed! (addressing himself to the foreman) I thought you had understood your place better.

Rec. Gentlemen, you shall not be dismissed, till we have a verdict that the court will accept; and you shall be locked up, without meat, drink, fire and tobacco. You shall not think thus to abuse the court; we will have a verdict, by the help of God, or you shall starve for it.

Penn.

Penn. My jury, who are my judges, ought not to be thus menaced. Their verdict should be free, and not compelled. The bench ought to wait upon them, but not forestall them. I do desire that justice may be done me, and that the arbitrary resolves of the bench may not be made the measure of my jury's verdict.

Rec. Stop that prating fellow's mouth, or put him out of the court.

Mayor. You have heard that he preached; that he gathered a company of tumultuous people; and that they do not only disobey the martial power, but the civil also.

Penn. It is a great mistake; we did not make the tumult, but they that interrupted us. The jury cannot be so ignorant, as to think that we met there with a design to disturb the civil peace; since, 1st, we were by force of arms kept out of our lawful house, and met as near it in the street as the soldiers would give us leave: and, 2dly, because it was no new thing, nor with the circumstances expressed in the indictment, but what was usual and customary with us. It is very well known, that we are a peaceable people, and cannot offer violence to any man.

Obser. The court being ready to break up, and willing to huddle the prisoners to their jail, and the jury to their chamber, Penn spake as follows:

Penn. The agreement of twelve men is a verdict in law; and such a one being given by the jury, 'I require the clerk of the peace to record it, as he will answer it at his peril.' And if the jury bring in another verdict contrary to this, I affirm they are perjured men in law. [And looking upon the jury, said] 'You are Englishmen; mind your privilege, give not away your right.'

Busbel. Nor will we ever do it.

Obser. One of the jurymen pleaded indisposition of body, and therefore desired to be dismissed.

Mayor. You are as strong as any of them. Starve then, and hold your principles.

Rec.

Rec. Gentlemen, you must be content with your hard fate; let your patience overcome it; for the court is resolved to have a verdict, and that before you can be dismissed.

Jury. We are agreed, we are agreed, we are agreed.

Obser. The court swore several persons to keep the jury all night, without meat, drink, fire, or any other accommodation. They had not so much as a chamber-pot, though desired.

Cry. Oyes, &c.

Obser. The court adjourned till seven of the clock next morning (being the fourth instant, vulgarly called Sunday); at which time the prisoners were brought to the bar, the court sat, and the jury called in, to bring in their verdict.

Cry. Oyes, &c.—Silence in the court, upon pain of imprisonment.

The jury's names called over.

Cle. Are you agreed upon your verdict?

Jury. Yes.

Cle. Who shall speak for you?

Jury. Our foreman.

Cle. What say you? Look upon the prisoners at the bar: Is William Penn guilty of the matter whereof he stands indicted, in manner and form as aforesaid, or not guilty?

Foreman. William Penn is guilty of speaking in Gracious-street.

Mayor. To an unlawful assembly?

Busbel. No, my lord, we give no other verdict than what we gave last night: we have no other verdict to give.

Mayor. You are a factious fellow; I'll take a course with you.

Bludw. I knew Mr. Busbel would not yield.

Busbel. Sir Thomas, I have done according to my conscience.

Mayor. That conscience of yours would cut my throat.

Busbel. No, my lord, it never shall.

Mayor. But I will cut yours as soon as I can.

Rec. He has inspired the jury; he has the spirit of divination; methinks I feel him. I will have a positive verdict, or you shall starve for it.

Penn. I desire to ask the recorder one question: Do you allow of the verdict given of William Mead?

Rec. It cannot be a verdict, because you are indicted for a conspiracy; and one being found not guilty, and not the other, it could not be a verdict.

Penn. If not guilty be not a verdict, then you make of the jury, and magna charta, but a mere nose of wax.

Mead. How! Is not guilty no verdict?

Rec. No, it is no verdict.

Penn. I affirm, that the consent of a jury is a verdict in law. And if William Mead be not guilty, it consequently follows, that I am clear; since you have indicted us of a conspiracy, and I could not possibly conspire alone.

Obser. There were many passages that could not be taken, which passed between the jury and the court. The jury went up again, having received a fresh charge from the bench, if possible to extort an unjust verdict.

Cry. Oyes, &c.—Silence in the court.

Court. Call over the jury.—[Which was done.]

Cle. What say you? Is William Penn guilty of the matter whereof he stands indicted in manner and form afore said, or not guilty?

Foreman. Guilty of speaking in Gracious-street.

Rec. What is this to the purpose? I say I will have a verdict. [And speaking to E. Bushel said] You are a factious fellow; I will set a mark upon you. And whilst I have any thing to do in the city, I will have an eye upon you.

Mayor. Have you no more wit, than to be led by such a pitiful fellow? I will cut his nose.

Penn. It is intolerable that my jury should be thus menaced! Is this according to the fundamental law? Are not they my proper judges by the great charter of England? What hope is there of ever having justice done,

done, when juries are threatened, and their verdicts rejected? I am concerned to speak, and grieved to see such arbitrary proceedings. Did not the lieutenant of the Tower render one of them worse than a felon? And do you not plainly seem to condemn such for factious fellows, who answer not your ends? Unhappy are those juries, who are threatened to be fined, and starved, and ruined, if they give not in their verdicts contrary to their consciences.

Rec. My lord, you must take a course with that same fellow.

Mayor. Stop his mouth. Jailer, bring fetters, and stake him to the ground.

Penn. Do your pleasure; I matter not your fetters.

Rec. Till now I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards in suffering the Inquisition among them. And certainly it will never be well with us, till something like the Spanish inquisition be in England.

Obser. The jury being required to go together, to find another verdict, and stedfastly refusing it (saying, they could give no other verdict than what was already given) the recorder in great passion was running off the bench, with these words in his mouth, 'I protest I will sit here no longer to hear these things.' At which the mayor calling, Stay, stay, he returned, and directed himself unto the jury, and spake as followeth:

Rec. Gentlemen, we shall not be at this pass always with you. You will find the next sessions of parliament there will be a law made, that those that will not conform, shall not have the protection of the law. Mr. Lee, draw up another verdict, that they may bring it in special.

Lee. I cannot tell how to do it.

Jury. We ought not to be returned; having all agreed, and set our hands to the verdict.

Rec. Your verdict is nothing; you play upon the court. I say, you shall go together, and bring in another verdict, or you shall starve; and I will have

you carted about the city, as in Edward the Third's time.

Foreman. We have given in our verdict, and all agreed to it. And if we give in another, it will be a force upon us to save our lives.

Mayor. Take them up.

Officer. My lord, they will not go up.

Obser. The mayor spoke to the sheriff, and he came off his seat, and said:

Sher. Come, gentlemen, you must go up; you see I am commanded to make you go.

Obser. Upon which the jury went up; and several were sworn to keep them without any accommodation, as aforesaid, till they brought in their verdict.

Cry. Oyes, &c. The court adjourns till to-morrow morning, at seven of the clock.

Obser. The prisoners were remanded to Newgate, where they remained till next morning, and then were brought into the court; which being sat, they proceeded as followeth:

Cry. Oyes, &c.—Silence in the court, upon pain of imprisonment.

Clerk. Set William Penn and William Mead to the bar. Gentlemen of the jury, answer to your names; Thomas Veer, Edward Bushel, John Hammond, Henry Henley, Henry Michel, John Brightman, Charles Milson, Gregory Walklet, John Bailey, William Lever, James Damask, William Plumstead; are you all agreed of your verdict?

Jury. Yes.

Clerk. Who shall speak for you?

Jury. Our foreman.

Clerk. Look upon the prisoners: What say you? Is William Penn guilty of the matter whereof he stands indicted, in manner and form, &c. or not guilty?

Foreman. You have there read in writing already our verdict, and our hands subscribed.

Obser.

Obfer. The clerk had the paper, but was stopped by the recorder from reading of it; and he commanded to ask for a positive verdict.

Foreman. If you will not accept of it, I desire to have it back again.

Court. That paper was no verdict; and there shall be no advantage taken against you by it.

Clerk. How say you? Is William Penn guilty, &c. or not guilty?

Foreman. Not guilty.

Clerk. How say you? Is William Mead guilty, &c. or not guilty?

Foreman. Not guilty.

Clerk. Then hearken to your verdict. You say that William Penn is not guilty in manner and form, as he stands indicted: you say that William Mead is not guilty in manner and form, as he stands indicted; and so you say all.

Jury. Yes, we do so.

Obfer. The bench being unsatisfied with the verdict, commanded that every person should distinctly answer to their names, and give in their verdict; which they unanimously did, in saying, Not guilty, to the great satisfaction of the assembly.

Rec. I am sorry, gentlemen, you have followed your own judgments and opinions, rather than the good and wholesome advice which was given you. God keep my life out of your hands: but for this the court fines you forty marks a man, and imprisonment till paid. [At which Penn stepped up towards the bench, and said]

Penn. I demand my liberty, being freed by the jury.

Mayor. No! you are in for your fines.

Penn. Fines! for what?

Mayor. For contempt of the court.

Penn. I ask, if it be according to the fundamental of England, that any Englishman should be fined,

or amerced, but by the judgment of his peers or jury? Since it expressly contradicts the fourteenth and twenty-ninth chapter of the great charter of England, which says, 'No freeman ought to be amerced, but by the oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage.'

Rec. Take him away, take him away, take him out of the court.

Penn. I can never urge the fundamental laws of England, but you cry, Take him away, take him away. But it is no wonder, since the Spanish inquisition hath so great a place in the recorder's heart. God Almighty, who is just, will judge you for all these things.

Obser. They haled the prisoners to the bale-dock, and from thence sent them to Newgate, for non-payment of the fines; and so were their jury.

A N

A P P E N D I X,

B Y W A Y O F

DEFENCE for the PRISONERS;

O R,

What might have been offered against the INDICTMENT, and illegal Proceedings of the COURT thereon, had they not violently overruled and stopped them.

Published in the Year 1670.

UPON a sober disquisition into several parts of the indictment, we find it so wretchedly defective, as if it were nothing else but a mere composition of error, rather calculated to the malicious designs of the judges, than to the least verity of fact committed by the prisoners.

To prove this, what we say will be a main help to discover the arbitrary proceedings of the bench, in their frequent menaces to the jury: as if it were not so much their business to try, as to condemn the prisoners; and that not so much for any fact they had committed, as what the court would have suggested to the jury to have been their fact.

Sect. 1. It is the constant common law of England, ' That no man should be taken, imprisoned, ' amerced, disseised of his freehold, of his liberties,

‘ or free customs, but by the judgment of his peers,
 ‘ which are vulgarly called a jury, from *jurare*, be-
 ‘ cause they are sworn to do right.’

Sect. 2. The only assistance that is given the jury, in order to a verdict, is :

First, The evidence given of the fact committed by the person indicted.—Secondly, The knowledge of that law, act, or statute, the indictment is grounded upon, and which the prisoners are said to have transgressed.

Sect. 3. We shall neglect to mention here how much they were deprived of that just advantage, which the ancient, equal laws of England do allow ; designing it for a conclusion of the whole, and shall only speak here to matter of fact and law.

Sect. 4. The evidence you have read in the trial ; the utmost import of which is no more than this,
 ‘ That William Penn was speaking in Gracious-street,
 ‘ to an assembly of people, but they knew not what
 ‘ he said.’ Which is so great a contradiction, as he that runs may read it ; for no man can say another man preaches, and yet understand not what he saith. He may conjecture it, but that is a lame evidence in law. It might as well have been sworn, that he was speaking of law, physick, trade, or any other matter of civil government. Besides, there is no law against preaching what is truth, whether it be in the street, or in any other place. Nor is it possible that any man can truly swear, that he preached sedition, heresy, &c. unless he so heard him, that he could tell what he said.

Sect. 5. The evidence farther saith, That W. Mead was there. ‘ But till being in Gracious-street be a
 ‘ fault, and hearing a man speak the witness knows.
 ‘ not what, be contrary to law,’ the whole evidence is useless, and impertinent. But what they want of that, they endeavour to supply with indictment ; whose parts we proceed to consider.

Exceptions against the indictment.

Sect. 6. It saith, That the prisoners [“were met
“upon the 15th day of August, 1670.”] whereas their
own evidence affirms it to be upon the 14th day of
August, 1670.

Sect. 7. [“That they met with force and arms.”]
Which is so great a lie, that the court had no better
cover for it, than to tell the jury it was only a piece
of form; urging, that the man tried for clipping of
money this present sessions, had the same words used
in his indictment.

But that this answer is too scanty, as well as it was
too weak to prevail with the jury, we desire it may be
considered, that the same words may be used more
of course, and out of form, at one time, than at an-
other. And though we grant they can have little
force with any jury in a clipper's case, for mere clip-
ping; yet they are words that give so just a ground of
jealousy, nay, that carry so clear an evidence of ille-
gality, where they are truly proved and affirmed of
any meeting, as that they are the proper roots from
whence do spring those branches which render an in-
dictment terrible, and an assembly truly the terror of
the people.

Sect. 8. [“Unlawful, and tumultuously to disturb
“the peace.”] Which is as true as what is said be-
fore (that is, as false.) This will evidently appear to
all that consider how lawful it is to assemble, with no
other design than to worship God. And their calling
a lawful assembly an unlawful one, no more makes it
so, than to say light is darkness, black is white, con-
cludes so impudent a falsity true.

In short, because to worship God can never be a
crime, no meeting, or assembly, designing to worship
God, can be unlawful. Such as go about to prove
an unlawful assembly, must prove these assemblers in-
tent not to worship God: but that no man can do,
because no man can know another man's intentions;
and

and therefore it is impossible that any should prove such an assembly unlawful. That is properly an unlawful assembly, according to the definition of the law, when several persons are met together with design to use violence, and to do mischief: but that Dissenters meet with no such intention, is manifest to the whole world; therefore their assemblies are not unlawful. He that hath only right to be worshipped, who is God, hath only right to institute how he will be worshipped: and such as worship him in that way they apprehend him to have instituted, are so far from being unlawful assemblers, that therein they do but express their duty they owe to God.

["Tumultuously"] Imports as much as disorderly, or an assembly full of noise, bustle, and confusion, using force and violence to the injury of persons, houses, or grounds. But whether religious Dissenters, in their peaceable meetings, therein desiring and seeking nothing more than to express that duty they owe to God Almighty, be guilty of a tumultuous action, or meeting, in the sense expressed (and which is the very definition of the law) will be the question. Certainly, such as call these meetings tumultuous, as to break the peace, offer the greatest violence to common words that can well be imagined; for they may as rightly say, such persons meet adulterously, thievishly, &c. as to affirm they meet tumultuously, because they are as truly applicable. In short, such particulars as are required to prove such meetings in law, are wholly wanting.

Sect. 9. ["To the disturbance of the peace."]

If the disturbance of the peace be but matter of form with the rest, as is usually pleaded; leave out this matter of form, and then see what great matter will be left.

Certainly such assemblies as are not to the breach and disturbance of the peace, are far from being unlawful or tumultuary. But if the peace be broken by them, how comes it the evidence was so short? We cannot believe it was in favour of the prisoners. This
may

may shew to all the reasonable world, how forward some are to brand innocency with hateful names, to bring a suspicion where there was none deserved.

Sect. 10. [“ That the said Penn and Mead met by “ agreement beforehand made.”]

But if persons that never saw each other, nor conversed together, neither had correspondence by any other hand, cannot be said to be agreed to any action before it be done; then the prisoners were far from an agreement; for they had never seen, conversed, nor corresponded, directly, nor indirectly, before the officers came to disturb the assembly. We well know how far they would have stretched the word agreement, or conspiracy; but God, who brings to nought all the counsels of the wicked, prevented their cruel designs.

Sect. 11. [“ That William Mead did abet the said “ William Penn in preaching.”]

No man can be said to abet another, whilst they are both unknown to each other; especially in this case, where abetting follows agreeing, and agreeing supposes foreknowledge. Nay, the word *abet* in law, signifies to *command*, *procure*, or *counsel* a person; which W. Mead could not be said to do, in reference to W. Penn, they being so great strangers one to another, and at so great a distance: for the evidence proves that he was with Lieutenant Cook; and Lieutenant Cook swears, he could not make his way to W. Penn for the croud.

Sect. 12. [“ That W. Penn’s preaching and speaking caused a great concourse and tumult of people “ to remain and continue a long time in the street.”]

But this is so improbable to believe, that the very nature of a tumult admits of no such thing as preaching; but implies a disorderly multitude, where all may be said to speak, rather than any to hear.

Sect. 1. [“ In contempt of the king and his laws.”]

They are so far from contemning the king and his laws, that they are obliged and constrained by their own

own principles, to obey every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, 'but not against the Lord for man's sake,' which is the question in hand. Besides, their continuance there was not in contempt, but by the permission of the chief officer present, that came there by the king's authority. Nor is it for the honour of the king, that such persons should be said to act in contempt of his laws, as only meet to honour God and His laws.

Sect. 2. ["And to the great disturbance of the king's peace."]

It is far from disturbing or breaking the king's peace, for men peaceably to meet to worship God: for it is then properly broken and invaded, when force and violence are used, to the hurt and prejudice of persons and estates; or when any thing is done that tends to the stirring up of sedition, and begetting in people a dislike of the civil government. But that such things are not practised by us in our assemblies, either to offer violence to mens persons and estates, or to stir up people to sedition, or dislike to the civil government, is obvious to all that visit our assemblies.

Sect. 3. ["To the great terror and disturbance of the king's liege people and subjects, and to the evil example of all others in the like case offending, against the king's peace, his crown and dignity."]

Were these black criminations as true as they are wretchedly false, we should give as just an occasion to lose our liberties, as our cruel adversaries are ready to take any to deprive us unjustly of them. O! how notorious is it to all sober people, that our manner of life is far from terrifying any: and how absurd to think, that naked men (in the generality of their conversation known to be harmless and quiet) should prove a terror or disturbance to the people! Certainly, if any such thing should be in the time of our meetings, it is brought with the cruelty and barbarous actions of your own soldiers: they never learned by
our

our example to beat, hale before magistrates, fine and imprison for matters relating to God's worship: neither can they say, we are their precedents for all those adulterous, prodigal, lascivious, drunken, swearing, and profane acts, they daily commit, and esteem rather occasion of brag and boast, than sorrow and repentance: no, they need not go so far; they have too many (God Almighty knows) of their own superiors for their example.

Sect. 4. But we can never pass over with silence, nor enough observe, the detestable juggle of such indictments; which we require all English and conscientious men to mind, as they value themselves on the like occasions. How little a grain of fact was proved, yet how spacious an indictment was made: had it related to the evidence, the bulk had been excusable; but when it only swelled with malicious scaring phrases, to suggest to the people that they were the merest villains, the most dangerous persons, and designing mutually the subversion of the law, and breach of the peace, to the terrifying of the people, &c. who can choose but tell them of their romance indictment, that is so forged, that it truly merits another against itself? This they childishly call form. But had an Italian, or other stranger, been in court, he would have judged it matter of fact, as thinking it unworthy of a king's court, to accuse men in terms not legally, truly, or probably, due to the fact they really had committed; as well as that no court would practise it, but that which loved to deprive men of their liberties and lives, rather than to save them, *volens, volens*.

Sect. 5. Had their cruelty and juggle ended with here, they would have spared us the pains of any farther observation. But that which we have to add on the prisoners behalf, renders their actions so innumerable in the sight of justice, that all honest and ingenuous hearts must needs abhor their base means.

They tell the jury, ' That being the judges of
' FACT only, they were to bring the prisoners in
' guilty (that is, of the fact, at their peril, and it
" was

‘ was the part of the bench to judge what was law.’ So that if the jury had brought them in guilty, without farther additional explanation (though intentionally they meant only of the fact proved by evidence) yet the bench would have extended it to every part of the indictment; and by this impious delusion have perjured a well-meaning jury, and have had their barbarous ends upon the innocent prisoners. But the jury, better understanding themselves, brought in William Penn guilty of the fact proved, namely, ‘ That he ‘ was speaking to some people met in Gracechurch- ‘ street, but not to an unlawful assembly, so circum- ‘ stantiated:’ the mention of which stabbed to the heart their design of moulding the general answer of guilty to their own ends. Nor indeed could they do otherwise; for as well the jury, as prisoners, were denied to have any law produced, by which they might measure the truth of the indictment, and guilt of the fact. But because the recorder would not or could not (perhaps it is so long since he read law, that he may have forgotten it) we shall perform his part, in shewing what is that ‘ common law of the land,’ which, in general, he said they were indicted for the breach of, and which indeed, if rightly understood, is the undoubted birth-right of every Englishman; yes, the inheritance of inheritances; *Major hereditas venit, unicuique nostrum à jure, & legibus, quam à parentibus.* Coke Instit. 2. 56.

Sect. 6. All the various kinds or models of government that are in the world, stand either upon will and power, or condition and contract; the first rule by men; the second, by laws. It is our happiness to be born under such a constitution, as is most abhorrent in itself of all arbitrary government; and which is, and ever has been, most choice and careful of her laws, by which all right is preserved.

Sect. 7. All laws are either fundamental, and so immutable; or superficial, and so alterable. By the first, we understand such laws as enjoin men to be just, honest, virtuous; to do no wrong, to kill, rob, deceive,

deceive, prejudice none; but to do as one would be done unto; to cherish good, and to terrify wicked men; in short, UNIVERSAL REASON; ‘which are not
 ‘ subject to any revolution, because no emergency,
 ‘ time or occasion, can ever justify a suspension of
 ‘ their execution, much less their utter abrogation.’

Sect. 8. By superficial laws, we understand such acts, laws, or statutes, as are suited to present occurrences; and which may as well be abrogated for the good of the kingdom, as they were first made for it. For instance, those statutes that relate to victuals, cloaths, and places of trade, &c. which have ever stood whilst the reason of them was in force; but when that benefit, which once redounded, fell by cross occurrences, they ended; according to that old maxim, *Cessante ratione legis, cessat lex*. But this cannot be said of fundamental laws, ‘till houses stand without their foundations, and Englishmen wholly cease
 ‘ to be;’ which brings close upon the point.

Sect. 9. There is not any country that has more constantly expressed her care and deep solicitude for the preservation of her fundamental laws, than the ENGLISH NATION: and though at particular times some evil persons have endeavoured an utter abolition of those excellent fundamentals, which we have before defined and defended from any just reason of revolution; yet God Almighty, who is always concerned to avenge the cause of justice, and those excellent good laws by which it is upheld, has by his Providence befuddled their contrivances, and baffled their attempts, by bringing their designs to nought, and their persons frequently to condign punishment and disgrace: their age no antiquary living can assure us; unless they say, ‘As old as REASON itself:’ but our own authors are not lacking to inform us, that the liberties, properties, and privileges of the English nation, are very ancient.

Sect. 10. For HERN, in his “Mirror of Justice,” (written in Edward the First’s time) fol. 1. tells us,
 ‘That after God had abated the nobility of the Bri-
 ‘ tons,

‘ tons, he did deliver the realm to men more hum-
 ‘ ble and simple, of the counties adjoining, to wit,
 ‘ the Saxons, which came from the parts of Almain
 ‘ to conquer this land, of which men there were forty
 ‘ sovereigns, which did rule as companions; and those
 ‘ princes did call this realm England, which before
 ‘ was named the Greater Britain. Those, after great
 ‘ wars, tribulation and pains, by long time suffered,
 ‘ did choose a king to reign over them, to govern the
 ‘ people of God, and to maintain and defend their
 ‘ persons and their goods in quiet, by the rules of
 ‘ right; and at the beginning they did cause him to
 ‘ swear to maintain the holy Christian faith, and to
 ‘ guide his people by right, with all his power, with-
 ‘ out respect of persons, and to observe the laws.
 ‘ And after, when the kingdom was turned into an
 ‘ heritage, king Alfred, that governed this kingdom
 ‘ about an hundred and seventy-one years before the
 ‘ conquest, did cause the great men of the kingdom
 ‘ to assemble at London, and there did ordain for a
 ‘ perpetual usage, that twice in the year, or oftner, if
 ‘ need should be, in time of peace, they should assemble
 ‘ at London in parliament, for the government of
 ‘ God’s people, that men might live in quiet, and re-
 ‘ ceive right by certain usages and holy judgments.

‘ In which parliament (said our author) the rights
 ‘ and prerogatives of the kings and subjects are dis-
 ‘ tinguished and set apart:’ and particularly by him
 expressed, too tedious here to insert; amongst which
 ordinances we find, ‘ That no man should be impri-
 ‘ soned, but for a capital offence. And if a man
 ‘ should detain another in prison by colour of right
 ‘ (where there was none) till the party imprisoned
 ‘ died, he that kept him in prison should be held
 ‘ guilty of murder,’ as you may read, p. 33, and 36.
 ‘ He is declared guilty of homicide, by whom a man
 ‘ shall die in prison, whether it be the judges, that
 ‘ shall too long delay to do a man right, or by cruelty
 ‘ of jailers, or suffering him to die by famine; or
 ‘ when a man is adjudged to do penance, and shall
 ‘ be

' be furcharged by his jailer with irons, or other pain,
 ' whereof he is deprived of his life.' And p. 149.
 ' That by the ancient law of England, it was felony
 ' to detain a man in prison, after sufficient bail offered,
 ' where the party was appealed of treason, murder,
 ' robbery, or burglary.' Page 35. ' None ought to
 ' be put in common prisons, but only such as were
 ' attainted, or principally appealed, or indicted, of
 ' false or wrongful imprisonment; so tender have the
 ' ancient laws and constitutions of this realm been, of
 ' the liberty of their subjects persons, that no man
 ' ought to be imprisoned but for a capital offence, as
 ' treason, murder, robbery, or burglary.'

Sect. 11. Not is LAMBARD short, in his excellent
 translation of the Saxon laws, from king Ina's time,
 712, to Hen. 3. 1100. in describing to us the great
 obligation, and strong condition the people were wont
 to put upon their kings, ' To observe the ancient fun-
 ' damental laws, and free customs of this land,' which
 were handed down from one age to another. And in
 the 17th chap. of king Edward the Confessor's laws,
 the mention there made of a king's duty, is very re-
 markable, that if he brake his oath, or performed not
 his obligation, *Nec nomen regis in eo constabit*. The
 same Lambard farther tells us, ' that however any
 ' may affirm William of Normandy to be a conqueror,
 ' he was received by the people as Edward's successor,
 ' and, by solemn oath taken, to maintain unto them
 ' the same laws that his kinsman Edward the Confessor
 ' did.' This doctrine remained in the general unques-
 tioned to the reign of king John; who imperiously
 thought that *voluntas regis*, and not *salus populi*, was
suprema lex; or the king's will, and not the people's
 preservation, was the supreme law; till the incensed
 barons of that time betook themselves to a vigorous
 defence of their ancient rights and liberties, and
 turned him to keep those laws, by a due restraint and
 timely compulsion, which his former invasion of them
 evidenced to the world he would never have done
 willingly.

Sect. 12. The propofals and articles of agreement, with the pledges given to the barons, on the behalf of the people, by the king, were confirmed in Henry the Third's time, his fon and fucceffor; when the abused, flighted, and difregarded law by his father, was thought fit to be reduced to record, that the people of England might not for ever after be to feek for a written recorded law, to their defence and fecurity: for *Mifera fervitus eft ubi jus eft vagum aut incognitum*. And fo we enter upon the grand charter of liberty and privilege, in the caufe, reafon, and end of it.

Sect. 13. We fhall firft rehearfe it, fo far as we are concerned, (with the formalities of grant and curfe) and fhall then fay fomething as to the caufe, reafon, and end of it.

A rehearfal of the material parts of the GREAT
CHARTER of ENGLAND.

HENRY, by the grace of God, king of England, &c. to all archbifhops, or earls, barons, fheriffs, provofts, officers, and to all bailiffs, and our faithful fubjects who fhall fee this prefent charter, greeting. KNOW ye, That we, unto the honour of Almighty God, and for the falvation of the fouls of our progenitors, and our fucceffors, kings of England, to the advancement of holy church, and amendment of our realm, of our mere and free will, have given and granted to all archbifhops, &c. and to all freemen of this our realm, thofe liberties underwritten, to be holden and kept in this our realm of England for evermore.

We have granted and given to all freemen of our realm, for us and our heirs, for evermore, thofe liberties underwritten, to have and to hold to them and to their heirs, of us and our heirs fore-named.

A freeman fhall not be amerced for a fmall fault, but after the quantity of the fault: and for a great fault, after the manner thereof; faving to him his contenements or freehold. And a merchant likewise
fhall

shall be amerced, saving to him his merchandize: and none of the said amercements shall be assessed, but by the oath of good and honest men of the vicinage.

No freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, nor be disseised of his freehold, or liberties, or free customs, or be outlawed or exiled, or any other ways destroyed; nor we shall not pass upon him, nor condemn him, but by lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land: we shall sell to no man, we shall deny nor defer to no man, either justice or right.

And all these customs and liberties aforesaid, which we have granted to be holden within this our realm, as much as appertaineth to us, and our heirs, we shall observe; and all men of this our realm, as well spiritual as temporal, as much as in them is, shall observe the same against all persons in like wise. And for this our gift and grant of those liberties, and for other contained in our charter of liberties of our forest, the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, knights, freeholders, and others our subjects, have given unto us the fifteenth part of their moveables: and we have granted unto them, on the other part, that neither we, nor our heirs, shall procure or do any thing whereby the liberties in this charter contained shall be infringed or broken: and if any thing be procured by any person contrary to the premises, it shall be held of no force or effect. These being witnesses, Boniface archbishop of Canterbury, &c. we ratifying and approving those gifts and grants aforesaid, confirm and make strong all the same, for us and our heirs perpetually, and by the tenor of these presents do renew the same willingly; and granting for us and our heirs, that this charter, in all and singular its articles, for evermore shall be stedfastly, firmly, and inviolably observed. And if any article in the same charter contained, yet hitherto peradventure hath not been observed, nor kept, we will, and by our authority royal command, henceforth firmly they be observed. Witness. &c.

The Sentence of the CURSE given by the bishops, with the king's consent, against the breakers of the great charter.

IN the year of our Lord 1253, the third day of May, in the Great Hall of the king at Westminster, in the presence, and by the consent, of the lord Henry, by the grace of God king of England, and the lord Richard, earl of Cornwall, his brother; Roger Bigot, earl of Norfolk, marshal of England; Humphry, earl of Hereford; Henry, earl of Oxford; John, earl Warren; and other estates of the realm of England: We Boniface, by the mercy of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England; F. of London; H. of Ely; S. of Worcester; E. of Lincoln; W. of Norwich; P. of Hereford; W. of Salisbury; W. of Durham; R. of Exeter; M. of Carlisle; W. of Bath; E. of Rochester; T. of St. Davids, bishops, apparelled in pontificals, with taper burning, against the breakers of the church's liberties, and of the liberties and other customs of this realm of England; and namely, those that are contained in the charter of the common liberties of England, and charter of the forest, have denounced sentence of excommunication in this form: By the authority of Almighty God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, &c. of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and of all apostles, and of all martyrs, of blessed Edward, king of England, and of all the saints of heaven, we excommunicate and accurse, and from the benefit of our holy mother the church we sequester, all those that hereafter willingly and maliciously deprive or spoil the church of her right; and all those that by any craft, or willingness, do violate, break, or diminish, or change the church's liberties, and free customs contained in the charter of the common liberties, and of the forest, granted by our lord the king to archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of England, and likewise to the earls, barons, knights, and other freeholders

holders of the realm; and all that secretly and openly, by deed, word, or counsel, do make statutes, or observe them being made, and that bring in customs, or keep them when they be brought in, against the said liberties, or any of them; and all those that shall presume to judge against them; and all and every such person, before-mentioned, that wittingly shall commit any thing of the premises, let them well know that they incur the aforesaid sentence, *ipso facto*.

A Confirmation of the Charters and Liberties of England, and of the forest, made the twenty-fifth year of Edward the First.

EDWARD, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Guyan, to all those that these present letters shall hear or see, greeting. Know ye, That we, to the honour of God, and to the profit of our realm, have granted, for us and our heirs, that the charter of liberties, and the charter of the forest, which were made by common assent of all the realm in the time of king Henry our father, shall be kept in every point, without breach: and we will that the same charter shall be sent under our seal, as well to our justices of the forest, as to others, and to all sheriffs of shires, and to all our other officers, and to all our cities throughout the realm, together with our writs, in the which it shall be contained; that they cause the aforesaid charters to be published, and to declare to the people that we have confirmed them in all points; and that our justices, sheriffs, mayors, and other ministers, which under us have laws of our land to guide, shall allow the same charters pleaded before them in all their points; that is to wit, the great charter, as the common law, and the charter of our forest, for the wealth of our realm.

And we will, that if any judgment be given from henceforth contrary to the points of the charter aforesaid,

said, by the justices, or by any other of our ministers that hold plea before them, against the points of the charter, it shall be undone, and holden for nought.

And we will that the same charter shall be sent under our seal to cathedral churches throughout our realm, there to remain; and shall be read before the people two times by the year.

And that all archbishops and bishops shall pronounce the sentence of excommunication against all those, that by word, deed, or counsel, do contrary to the aforesaid charters, or that in any point do break or undo them; and that the said curses be twice a year denounced and published by the prelates aforesaid: and if the same prelates, or any of them be remiss in the denunciation of the said sentences, the archbishops of Canterbury and York for the time being shall compel and distrain them to the execution of their duties in form aforesaid.

The Sentence of the CLERGY, against the breakers of the articles above-mentioned.

IN the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Amen. Whereas our sovereign lord the king, to the honour of God, and of holy church, and for the common profit of the realm, hath granted, for him and his heirs for ever, these articles above written. Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, admonished all his province once, twice, and thrice, because that shortness will not suffer so much delay, as to give knowledge to all the people of England of these presents in writing: we therefore enjoin all persons, of what estate soever they be, that they, and every of them, as much as in them is, shall uphold and maintain these articles, granted by our sovereign lord the king, in all points: and all those that in any point do resist or break, or in any manner hereafter procure, counsel, or in any wise assent to resist or break those ordinances, or go about it, by word or deed, openly or privily, by any manner of pre-
tence

tence or colour; we, the aforesaid archbishops, by our authority in this writing expressed, do excommunicate and accurse, and from the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and from all the company of heaven, and from all the sacraments of holy church, do sequester and exclude.

We may here see, that in the obscurest times of sottish popery, they were not left without a sense of justice, and the necessity of liberty and property, to be inviolably enjoyed; which brings us to the cause of it.

First, The cause of this famous charter was, as we have already said, the incroachments that were made by several ministers of precedent kings, that almost became customary, and which had near extinguished the free customs due to Englishmen. How great care it cost our ancestors, it unbecomes us to ignore, or by our silence to neglect: it was that yoke and muzzle which failed not to disable many raging bears from entering the pleasant vineyard of English freedoms, that otherwise would not have left a fruitful vine in being. Anon we may give the reader an account of some, with their wages as well as works.

Secondly, The reason of it is so great, that it seems to be its own. It is the very image and expression of justice, liberty and property; points of such eminent importance, as without which no government can be said to be reasonable, but arbitrary and tyrannical. It allows every man that liberty God and nature have given him, and the secure possession of his property, from the inroad or invasion of his neighbour, or any else of that constitution. It justifies no man in a fault; only it provides equal and just ways to have the offender tried, considering the malice of many persecutors, and the great value of liberty and life.

Thirdly, The end of it was the most noble of any earthly projection; to wit, 'The refixing of those shaken laws,' held for many hundred years by constant claim, that the living might be re-instated in their

their primitive liberty, and their posterity secured in the possession of so great happiness.

Amongst those many rich advantages that accrue to the free people of England from this great charter, and those many confirmatory statutes of the same, we shall present the reader with a sight of some few, that may most properly fall under the consideration and enquiry of these present times, as found in our common law books.

First, [That every Englishman is born free.]

Secondly, [That no such freeman shall be taken, attached, assessed, or imprisoned, by any petition or suggestion to the king or his council, unless by the indictment and presentment of good and lawful men, where such right as needs be done.] 5 Edw. 3. ch. 9. 25 Ed. 3. ch. 4. 17 Rich. 2. ch. 6. Rot. Parl. 43 Ed. 3. Coke, 2 Inst. 43.

Thirdly, [That no such freeman shall be disseised of his freehold, or liberties, or free customs, &c.] Hereby is intended, saith Coke, that lands, tenements, goods and chattels, shall not be seised into the king's hands, contrary to this great charter, &c. 43 Ass. pag. 12. 43 Ed. 3. Coke, 2 Inst. 32. Neither shall any such freeman be put from his livelihood without answer. Coke, 2 Inst. 47.

Fourthly, [That no freeman shall be outlawed] unless he shroud and hide himself voluntarily from the justice of the law, 2 & 3 Phil. & Mar. Dier. 114, 145.

Fifthly, [No freeman shall be exiled.] Coke said, there are but two grounds upon which any man may be exiled; one by act of parliament (supposing it not contrary to the great charter)—the other, in case of abjuration, for felony by the common law, &c. Coke, Inst. 2. 47.

Sixthly, [No freeman shall be destroyed; that is, he shall not be fore-judged of life, limb, disherited, or put to torture, or death.] Every oppression against law, by colour of any usurped authority, is a kind of destruction; and it is the worst oppression that is done by colour of justice. Coke, Inst. 2. 48.

Seventh-

Seventhly, [That no freeman shall be thus taken, or imprisoned, disseised, outlawed, exiled, or be destroyed of his liberties, freeholds, and free customs, but BY THE LAWFUL JUDGMENT OF HIS PEERS, vulgarly called jury. So that the judgment of any fact or person is, by this fundamental law, referred to the breasts and consciences of the jury. It is rendered in Latin, PER LEGALE JUDICIUM; that is, lawful judgment: from whence it is to be observed, that the judgment must have law in it, and be according to law; which cannot be, where they are not judges how far the fact is legal, or the contrary; *judicium, quasi juris dictum* [the voice of law and right.] And therefore is their verdict not to be rejected, because it is supposed to be the truth, according to their consciences: for verdict, from *verè dictum veritatis*, [or a true saying or judgment] 9 Hen. 3. 26. Coke's Inst. 1. 32. Inst. 4. 207. Coke says, that by the word LEGALE, three things are implied.

1st. That this was by law, before the statute; and therefore this statute but declaratory of the ancient law.

2d. That their verdict must be legally given: wherein is to be observed, 1st. The jury ought to hear no evidence, but in the hearing and presence of the prisoner. 2d. That they cannot send to ask any question in law of the judges, but in the presence of the prisoner: for, *de facto jus oritur*.

3d. The evidence produced by the king's counsel being given, the judges cannot collect the evidence, nor urge it by way of charge to the jury, nor yet confer with the jury, about the evidence, but in the presence of the prisoner, Coke's Inst.

2. 49.

Eighthly, [or by the law of the land.] It is a synonymous expression, importing no more than 'by the trial of peers, or a jury:' for it is sometimes rendered not (*or*) disjunctively, but (*and*) which is connectively. However, it can never signify any thing

contrary to the old way of trying by peers; for then it would be connected to a contradiction.

Besides, Coke well observes, That in the 4th chap. of the 25 Ed. 3. *per legem terræ*, imports no more than a trial by due process, and writ original at common law; which cannot be without a jury: therefore *per judicium parum*, & *per legem terræ*, signify the same privilege unto the people, Coke, Inst. 2. p. 50.

Thus have we presented you with some of those maxims of law, dearer to our ancestors than life, 'Because they are the defence of the lives and liberties of the people of England.' It is from this 29th chap. of the great charter (great, not for its bulk, but the privileges in it) as from a spacious root, that so many fruitful branches of the law of England spring, if Coke may be credited. But how sacred soever they have been esteemed, and still are by noble and just minds, yet so degenerate are some in their proceedings, that, conscious to themselves of their baseness, they will not dare stand the touch of this great charter, and those just laws grounded upon it: of which number, we may truly rank the mayor and recorder of London, with the rest of their wise companions, in their late sessions at the Old Bailey, upon the occasion of the prisoners.

First, The prisoners were taken, and imprisoned, without presentment of good and lawful men of the vicinage, or neighbourhood, but after a military and tumultuous manner, contrary to the grand charter.

Secondly, They refused to produce the law upon which they proceeded; leaving thereby the prisoners, jury, and the whole assembly in the dark.

Thirdly, They refused the prisoners to plead, and directly withstood that great privilege, mentioned in the first chap. 25 Ed. 1. 'where all justices, mayors, sheriffs, and other ministers, that have the laws of the land to guide them, are required to allow the said charter to be pleaded in all its points, and in all cases that shall come before them in judgment: for no sooner did William Penn, or his fellow-prisoners,

er, urge upon them the great charter, and other good laws, but the recorder cried, ‘ Take him away; take him away, and put him into the bale-dock, or hole:’ from which refusal the recorder can never deliver himself, unless it be by avowing, the laws are not his guide, and therefore he does not suffer them to be pleaded before him in judgment.

Fourthly, They gave the jury their charge in the prisoners absence, endeavouring highly to incense the jury against them.

Fifthly, The verdict being given (which is in law *DICTION VERITATIS*, the voice of truth herself) being not suitable to their humours, they did five times reject it, with many abusive, imperious, and menacing expressions to the jury, such as no precedent can afford us; as if they were not the only constituted judges by the fundamental laws of the land, but mere cyphers, only to signify something behind their figures.

Sixthly, Though the prisoners were cleared by their jury, yet were they detained for the non-payment of their fines, laid upon them for not pulling off their hats; in which the law is notoriously broken.

1st. In that no man shall be amerced, but according to the offence; and they have fined each forty marks.

2d. They were not amerced by any jury, but at the will of an incensed bench.

Besides, there is no law against the hat; and where there is no law, there can be no transgression, and consequently no legal amercement, or fine, 9 Hen. 3. chap. 14. But how the prisoners were trepanned into it, is most ridiculous on the side of the contrivers; who, finding their hats off, would have them put on again by their officers, to fool the prisoners with a trial of putting them off again: which childish conceit not being gratified, they fined them forty marks apiece.

Seventhly, Instead of accepting their verdict as good in law, and for the true decision of the matter, according to their great charter, (that constitutes them proper

proper judges, and which bears them out, with many other good laws, in what they agree to as a verdict) the court did most illegally and tyrannically fine and imprison them, as in the trial was expressed; and that notwithstanding the late just resentment of the house of commons in judge Keeling's case, where they resolved, that the precedents and practice of fining and imprisoning of juries for their verdicts, were illegal. And here we must needs observe two things:

First, That the fundamental laws of England cannot be more slighted, and contradicted in any thing (next to Englishmens being quite destroyed) than in not suffering them to have that equal medium, or just way of trial, that the same law has provided, which is by a jury.

Secondly, That the late proceeding of the court at the Old Bailey, is an evident demonstration, that juries are now but mere formality, and that the partial charge of the bench must be the verdict of the jury: for if ever a rape were attempted on the conscience of any jury, it was there. And indeed, the ignorance of jurors of their authority by law, is the only reason of their unhappy cringing to the court, and being scared into an anti-conscience verdict by their lawless threats.

But we have lived to an age so debaucht from all humanity and reason, as well as faith and religion, that some stick not to turn butchers to their own privileges, and conspirators against their own liberties. For however magna charta had once the reputation of a sacred, unalterable law, and few were hardened enough to incur and bear the long curse that attends the violators of it, yet it is frequently objected now, that the benefits there designed are but temporary, and therefore liable to alteration, as other statutes are. What game such persons play at, may be lively read in the attempts of Dionysius, Phalaris, &c. which would have will and power be the people's law.

But that the privileges due to Englishmen by the great charter of England, have their foundation in reason

reason and law; and that those new Cassandrian ways to introduce will and power, deserve to be detested by all persons professing sense and honesty, and the least allegiance to our English government, we shall make appear from a sober consideration of the nature of those privileges contained in that charter.

1. The ground of alteration of any law in government, where there is no invasion, should arise from the universal discommodity of its continuance: but there can be no disprofit in the continuance of liberty and property; therefore there can be no just ground of alteration.

2. No one Englishman is born a slave to another, neither has the one a right to inherit the sweat and benefit of the other's labour, without consent; therefore the liberty and property of an Englishman cannot reasonably be at the will and beck of another, let his quality and rank be ever so great.

3. There can be nothing more unreasonable than that which is partial: but to take away the LIBERTY and PROPERTY of any (which are natural rights) without breaking the law of nature (and not of will and power) is manifestly partial, and therefore unreasonable.

4. If it be just and reasonable "for men to do as they would be done by;" then no sort of men should invade the liberties and properties of other men; because they would not be served so themselves.

5. Where liberty and property are destroyed, there must always be a state of force and war: which however pleasing it may be unto the invaders, it will seem intolerable by the invaded; who will no longer remain subject, in all human probability, than while they want as much power to free themselves, as their adversaries had to enslave them. The troubles, hazards, ill consequences, and illegality of such attempts, as they have been declined by the most prudent in all ages, so have they proved most uneasy to the most savage of all nations; who first or last have by a mighty torrent freed themselves, to the due punishment and great

great infamy of their oppressors : such being the advantage, such the disadvantage, which necessarily do attend the fixation, and removal, of liberty and property.

We shall proceed to make it appear, that magna charta, as recited by us, imports nothing less than their preservation.

‘ No freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or be disseised of his freeholds, or liberties, or free customs, or be outlawed, or exiled, or any other ways destroyed ; nor will we upon him pass, nor condemn him, but by the lawful judgment of his peers,’ &c.

‘ A freeman shall not be amerced for a small fault, but after the manner of the fault ; and for a great fault, after the greatness thereof : and none of the said ameracements shall be assessed, but by the oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage.’

First, It asserts Englishmen to be free : that is liberty.

Secondly, That they have freeholds : that is property.

Thirdly, That amercement, or penalties, should be proportioned to the faults committed : ‘ which is equity.’

Fourthly, That they shall lose neither, but when they are adjudged to have forfeited them in the judgment of their honest neighbours, according to the law of the land : ‘ which is lawful judgment.’

It is easy to discern to what pass the enemies of the great charter would bring the people of England.

First, They are now freemen : ‘ but they would have them slaves.’

Secondly, They have now right unto their wives, children, and estates : ‘ but such would rob and spoil them of all.’

Thirdly, Now no man is to be amerced, or punished, but suitably to the fault : ‘ whilst they would make it suitably to their revengeful minds, and unlimited wills.’

Fourthly,

Fourthly, Whereas the power of judgment lies in the breasts and consciences of twelve honest neighbours; ‘they would have it at the discretion of mercenary judges.’ To which we cannot choose but add, that such discourses manifestly strike at this present constitution of government; for it being founded upon the great charter (which is the ancient common law of the land) as upon its best foundation, none can design the concealing the charter, but they must necessarily intend the extirpation of the English government; for where the cause is taken away, the effect must consequently cease. And as the restoration of our ancient English laws by the great charter, was the sovereign balsam which cured our former breaches, so doubtless will the continuation of it prove an excellent prevention to any future disturbances.

But some are ready to object, ‘That the great charter consisting as well of religious as civil rights, the former having received an alteration, there is the same reason why the latter may have the like.’

To which we answer, That the reason of alteration cannot be the same; therefore the consequence is false. The one being matter of opinion about faith and religious worship, which is as various as the unconstant apprehensions of men; but the other is matter of so immutable right and justice, that all generations (however differing in their religious opinions) have concurred and agreed to the certainty, equity, and indispensable necessity of preserving these fundamental laws; so that magna charta hath not risen and fallen with the differing religious opinions that have been in this land, but hath ever remained as the stable right of every individual Englishman, purely as an Englishman. Otherwise, if the civil privileges of the people had fallen with the pretended religious privileges of the popish tyranny, at the first reformation (as must needs be suggested by this objection) our case had ended here, that we had obtained a spiritual freedom, at the cost of a civil bondage: which certainly was far from the intention of the first reformers; and, probably,

bably, an unseen consequence by the objectors to their idle opinion.

In short, there is no time in which any man may plead the necessity of such an action as is unjust in its own nature ; which he must unavoidably be guilty of, that doth deface or cancel that law by which the justice of liberty and property is confirmed and maintained to the people. And consequently, no person may legally attempt the subversion, or extenuation, of the force of the great charter. We shall proceed to prove them instances out of both.

First, ‘ Any judgment given contrary to the said charter, is to be undone and holden for nought.’ 25 Edw. 1. chap. 2.

Secondly, ‘ Any, by word, deed, or counsel, that go contrary to the said charter, are to be excommunicated by the bishops: and the archbishops of Canterbury and York are bound to compel the other bishops to denounce sentence accordingly, in case of their remissness, or neglect:’ which certainly hath relation to the state, rather than to the church ; since there was never any necessity of compelling the bishops to denounce sentence in their own case, though frequently in the people’s. 25 Edw. 1. chap. 4.

Thirdly, ‘ That the great charter, and charter of the forest, be holden and kept in all points: and if any statute be made to the contrary, that it shall be holden for nought.’ 43 Edw. 3. 1. Upon which Coke, that famous English lawyer, said, ‘ That albeit judgments in the king’s courts are of high regard in law, and *judicia* are accounted as *juris dicta*; yet it is provided by the act of parliament, That if any judgment be given contrary to any of the points of the great charter, it shall be holden for nought.’

He farther saith, upon the statute of 25 Edw. 1. chap. 1. ‘ That this great charter, and the charter of forest, are properly the common law of the land, or the law common to all the people thereof.’

Fourthly, Another statute runs thus: ‘ If any force come to disturb the execution of the common law,
‘ ye

‘ ye shall cause their bodies to be arrested, and put in
 ‘ prison: ye shall deny no man right by the king’s
 ‘ letters, nor counsel the king any thing that may
 ‘ turn to his damage or disherison.’ 18 Edw. 3.
 chap. 7. ‘ Neither to deny right by any command
 ‘ under the great or little seal.’ This is the judges
 charge and oath, 2 Edw. 3. chap. 8. 14 Edw. 3. 14
 11 Rich. 2. chap. 10.

Fifthly, Such care hath been taken for the preserva-
 tion of this great charter, that in the 25th of Edw. 1.
 it was enacted, ‘ That commissioners should issue
 ‘ forth, that there should be chosen in every shire-
 ‘ court, by the commonalty of the same shire, three
 ‘ substantial men, knights, or other lawful, wise, and
 ‘ well-disposed persons, to be justices, which shall be
 ‘ assigned by the king’s letters patents, under the great
 ‘ seal, to hear and determine (without any other writ
 ‘ but only their commission) such complaints as shall be
 ‘ made upon all those that commit, or offend against
 ‘ any point contained in the aforesaid charters.’ 21
 Edw. 1. chap. 1.

Sixthly, The necessity of preserving these charters,
 hath appeared in nothing more than in the care they
 have taken to confirm them; which, as Coke observes,
 ‘ have been by thirty-two parliaments confirmed, esta-
 ‘ blished, and commanded to be put in execution,
 ‘ with the condign punishment they had inflicted upon
 ‘ the offenders.’ Coke’s proem to the second book of
 his Institutes.

Seventhly, That in the notable petition of right,
 many of these great privileges, and free customs, con-
 tained in the aforesaid charters, and other good laws,
 are recited and confirmed. 3 Car. 1.

Eighthly, The late king, in his declaration at New-
 market, 1641, acknowledged ‘ the law to be the rule
 ‘ of his power:’ by which he doubtless intended fun-
 damental laws; since it may be the great advantage
 of countries, sometimes to suspend the execution of
 temporary laws.

Having so manifestly evidenced that venerable esteem our ancestors had of that golden rule the GREAT CHARTER, with their deep solicitude to preserve it from the defacing of usurpation and faction; we shall proceed to give an account of their just resentment, and earnest prosecution against some of those, who in any age have adventured to undermine that ancient foundation, by introducing an arbitrary way of government.

First, As judicious Lambard reports, in his Saxon translation, ‘ That the kings in those days, were by
‘ their coronation oaths obliged to keep the ancient
‘ fundamental laws and customs of this land (of
‘ which this great charter is but declaratory): so did
‘ king Alfred (reputed the most famous compiler of
‘ laws amongst them) give this discovery of his indignation against his own judges, for acting contrary
‘ to those fundamental laws, that he commanded the
‘ execution of forty of them.’ Which may be a reasonable caveat to the judges of our times.

Secondly, Hubert de Burgo, once chief justice of England, having advised Edward the First, in the eleventh year of his reign (in his council holden at Oxford) ‘ to cancel this great charter, and that of the
‘ forest,’ was justly sentenced according to law, by his peers, in open parliament, when the statute, called CONFIRMATIONIS CHARTARUM, was made: in the first chapter thereof, magna charta is peculiarly called the common law. 25 Edw. 1. chap. 2.

Thirdly, The Spencers (both father and son) for their arbitrary domination, and rash and evil counsel to Edward the Second, (by which he was seduced to break the great charter) were banished for their pains, as Coke relates.

Fourthly, The same fate attended Tresilian and Belknap, for their illegal proceedings.

Fifthly, The breach of this great charter was the ground of that exemplary justice done upon Empson and Dudley, whose case is very memorable in this point: for though they gratified Henry the Seventh in
what

what they did, and had an act of parliament for their warrant, made the eleventh of his reign, yet met with their due reward from the hands of justice; that act being against equity and common reason, and so no justifiable ground, or apology, for those frequent abuses, and the oppressions of the people, they were found guilty of. Hear what the lord Coke farther saith concerning the matter, ‘ There was an act of
 ‘ parliament, made in the eleventh year of king Henry
 ‘ the Seventh, which had a fair flattering preamble,
 ‘ pretending to avoid divers mischiefs, which were,
 ‘ 1st, The high displeasure of Almighty God. 2dly,
 ‘ The great let of the common law. And 3dly, The
 ‘ great let of the wealth of this land. And the pur-
 ‘ view of that act tended in the execution contrary,
 ‘ *ex diametro*, viz. to the high displeasure of Almighty
 ‘ God, and the great let, nay, the utter subversion,
 ‘ of the common law, and the great let of the wealth
 ‘ of this land, as hereafter shall appear: the substance
 ‘ of which act follows in these words:

“ That from henceforth, as well justices of assize,
 “ as justices of the peace, in every county, upon
 “ information for the king, before them made,
 “ without any finding or presentment by twelve
 “ men, shall have full power and authority, by
 “ their discretion, to hear and determine all
 “ offences, as riots, unlawful assemblies, &c.
 “ committed and done against any act or statute
 “ made, and not repealed,” &c. [A case that
 very much resembles this of our own times.]

‘ By pretext of this law, Empson and Dudley did
 ‘ commit upon the subjects unsufferable pressure and
 ‘ oppression; and therefore this statute was justly, soon
 ‘ after the decease of Henry the Seventh, repealed at
 ‘ the next parliament after his decease, by the statute
 ‘ of the 1 Hen. 8. chap. 6.

‘ A good caveat to parliaments, to leave all causes
 ‘ to be measured by the golden and straight mete-wand
 ‘ of the law, and not by the uncertain and crooked
 ‘ cord of discretion.’

‘ It is almost incredible to foresee, when any maxim or fundamental law of this realm is altered (as elsewhere hath been observed) what dangerous inconveniences do follow; which most expressly appeareth by this most unjust and strange act of the eleventh of Henry the Seventh, for hereby not only Empson and Dudley themselves, but such justices of the peace (corrupt men) as they caused to be authorized, committed most grievous and heavy oppressions and exactions, grinding the faces of the poor subjects by penal laws (be they never so absolute, or unfit for the time) by information only, without any presentment, or trial by jury, being the ancient birth-right of the subject; but to hear and determine the same by their discretions, inflicting such penalty, as the statute not repealed imposed. These, and other like oppressions and exactions by, or by the means of, Empson and Dudley, and their instruments, brought infinite treasure to the king’s coffers; whereof the king himself, at the end, with great grief and compunction, repented, as in another place we have observed.

‘ This statute of the 11th of Henry the Seventh we have recited, and shewed the just inconveniences thereof; to the end that the like should never hereafter be attempted in any court of parliament; and that others might avoid the fearful end of those two time-servers, Empson and Dudley, *Qui eorum vestigiis insistant, eorum exitus perborrescant.*

‘ See the statute of 8 Edw. 4. chap. 2. A statute of liveries, an information, &c. by the discretion of the judges, to stand as an original, &c. this act is deservedly repealed, vide 12 R. 2. chap. 13. Punishment by discretion, &c. vide 5th of H. 4. chap. 6. 8. See the commission of sewers; discretion ought to be thus described, *Discretio est discernere per legem quid sit justum.*’ From whence three things seem most remarkable :

First,

First, The great equity and justice of the great charter, with the high value our ancestors have most deservedly set upon it.

Secondly, The dreadful malediction, or curse, they have denounced upon the breakers of it, with those exemplary punishments they have not spared to inflict upon such notorious offenders.

Thirdly, So heinous a thing was it esteemed of old, to endeavour an enervation, or subversion, of these ancient rights and privileges, that acts of parliament themselves (otherwise the most sacred with the people) have not been of force enough to secure or defend such persons from condign punishment, who, in pursuance of them, have acted inconsistent with our great charter. Therefore it is, that the great lawyer, the lord Coke, doth more than once aggravate the example of Empson and Dudley (with persons of the same rank) into a just caution, as well to parliaments as judges, justices, and inferior magistrates, to decline making or executing any act, that may in the least seem to infringe upon or confine this so often avowed and confirmed great charter of the liberties of England; since parliaments are said to err, when they cross it; the obeyers of their acts punished, as time-serving transgressors; and that kings themselves (though enriched by those courses) have met with great compunction and repentance, and left among their dying words their recantations.

Therefore most notable and true it was, with which we shall conclude this present subject, what the king pleased to observe in a speech to the parliament, about 1662. viz. 'The good old rules of law are our best security.'

The manner of the court's behaviour towards the prisoners and the jury, with their many extravagant expressions, must not altogether slip our observation.

the jury outdoes all precedents more like a pack of men, as being fitter to suit others. In short,
no.

no jury, for many ages, received so many instances of displeasure and affront, because they preferred not the humour of the court before the quiet of their own consciences, even to be esteemed as perjured; though they had really been so, had they not done what they did.

2. Their treatment of the prisoners was not more unchristian than inhuman. History can scarce tell us of one heathen Roman, that ever was so ignoble to his captive. What! 'to accuse, and not hear them; 'to threaten to bore their tongues, gag and stop 'their mouths, fetter their legs, merely for defend- 'ing themselves, and that by the ancient fundamental 'laws of England too?' O barbarous! Had they been Turks and infidels, that carriage would have ill become a Christian court; such actions proving much stronger dissuatives, than arguments to convince them how much the Christian religion inclines men to justice and moderation, above their dark idolatry. It is truly lamentable, that such occasion should be given for intelligence to foreign parts, where England hath had the reputation of a Christian country, by their ill treating of its sober and religious inhabitants, for their conscientious meetings to worship God. But, above all, Dissenters had little reason to have expected this boorish fierceness from the mayor of London, when they consider his eager prosecution of the king's party, under Cromwell's government, as thinking he could never give too great a testimony of his loyalty to that new instrument: which makes the old saying true, 'That one renegade is worse than three Turks.'

Alderman Bludworth, being conscious to himself of his partial kindness to the popish friars, hopes to make an amends, by his zealous persecution of the poor dissenters: for at the same sessions he moved to have an evidence (of no small quality), against Harrison, the mendicant friar, sent to Bridewell and whipped, he was earnest to have the jury fined and imprisoned, because they brought not the prisoners in guilty, when no crime was proved against them, but peace-

peaceably worshipping their God. Whence it may be easy to observe, that popish friars, and prelatical persecutors, are mere confederates.

But what others have only adventured to stammer at, the recorder of London has been so ingenuous as to speak most plainly; or else, what mean those two fatal expressions, which are become the talk and terror of both city and country?

First, In assuring the jury, ‘ That there would be
‘ a law next sessions of parliament, that no man should
‘ have the protection of the law, but such as con-
‘ formed to the church.’ Which, should it be true, as we hope it is false, (and a dishonourable prophecy of that great assembly) the Papists may live to see their Marian days outdone by professed Protestants.

But surely no Englishman can be so sottish, as to conceive that this right to liberty and property came in with his profession of the Protestant religion! Or that his natural and human rights are dependent on certain religious apprehensions: and consequently he must esteem it a cruelty in the abstract, that persons should be denied the benefit of those laws which relate to civil concerns, who by their deportment in civil affairs have no way transgressed them, but merely upon an opinion of faith, and matter of conscience.

It is well known that liberty and property, trade and commerce, were in the world long before the points in difference betwixt Protestants and Dissenters, as the common privileges of mankind; and therefore not to be measured out by a conformity to this or the other religious persuasion, but purely as Englishmen.

Secondly, But we should rather choose to esteem this an expression of heat in the recorder, than that we could believe a London’s recorder should say an English parliament should impose so much slavery on the present age, and entail it upon their own posterity (who, for aught they know, may be reckoned among the Dissenters of the next age) did he not encourage us to believe it was both his desire and his judgment, from that deliberate eulogy he made on the Spanish

inquisition, expressing himself much to this purpose, viz. ‘ Till now, I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the Spaniards, in suffering the inquisition among them: and certainly it will never be well with us, till something like unto the Spanish inquisition be in England.’ The gross malignity of which saying is almost inexpressible. What does this but justify that hellish design of the Papists, to have prevented the first reformation? If this be good doctrine, then Hoggestrant, the grand inquisitor, was a more venerable person than Luther the reformer. It was an expression that had better become Cajetan, the pope’s legate, than Howel, a protestant city’s recorder. This is so far from helping to convert the Spaniard, that it is the way to harden him in his idolatry, when his abominable cruelty shall be esteemed prudence, and his most barbarous and exquisite torturing of TRUTH, an excellent way to prevent faction.

If the recorder has spoke for no more than himself, it is well; but certainly, he little deserves to be thought a protestant, and a lawyer, that puts both reformation and law into the inquisition. And doubtless the supreme governors of the land are highly obliged, in honour and conscience, (in discharge of their trust to God and the people) to take these things into their serious consideration, as what is expected from them, by those who earnestly wish theirs and the kingdom’s safety and prosperity.

P O S T.

P O S T S C R I P T.

The Copy of Judge Keeling's Case, taken out of the Parliament Journal.

Die Mercurii, 11^o Decembris, 1667.

THE house resumed the hearing of the rest of the report, touching the matter of restraint upon juries; and that upon the examination of divers witnesses, in several clauses of restraints put upon juries, by the lord chief justice Keeling: whereupon the committee made their resolutions, which are as followeth:

First, That the proceedings of the lord chief justice, in the cases now reported, are innovations, in the trial of men for their lives and liberties; and that he hath used an arbitrary and illegal power, which is of dangerous consequence to the lives and liberties of the people of England, and tends to the introducing of an arbitrary government.

Secondly, That in the place of judicature, the lord chief justice hath undervalued, vilified, and condemned magna charta, the great preserver of our lives, freedom, and property.

Thirdly, That he be brought to trial, in order to condign punishment, in such manner as the house shall judge most fit and requisite.

Die Veneris 13^o Decembris, 1667.

Resolved, &c.. That the precedents and practice of fining or imprisoning jurors for verdicts, is illegal.

Now whether the justices of this court, in their proceedings (both towards the prisoners and jury) have acted according to law, and to their oaths and duty, to do justice without partiality, whereby right might be

be preserved, the peace of the land secured, and our ancient laws established; or whether such actions tend not to deprive us of our lives and liberties, to rob us of (our birth-right) the fundamental laws of England; and finally, to bring in an arbitrary and illegal power, to usurp the benches of all our courts of justice, we leave the English reader to judge.

Certainly, there can be no higher affront offered to king and parliament, than the bringing their reputations into suspicion with their people, by the irregular actions of subordinate judges: and no age can parallel the carriage of this recorder, mayor, &c. Nor can we think so ignobly of the parliament, as that they should do less than call these persons to account, who failed not to do it to one less guilty, and of more repute; to wit, judge Keeling: for if his behaviour gave just ground of jealousy, that he intended an innovation, and the introducing an arbitrary government, this recorder's much more. Did chief justice Keeling say, "Magna charta was magna farta?" So did this recorder too: and did justice Keeling fine and imprison juries, contrary to all law? So did this recorder also. In short, there is no difference, unless it be that the one was questioned, and the other deserves it. But we desire in this they may be said to differ, that though the former escaped punishment, the latter may not; who having a precedent before, did notwithstanding notoriously transgress.

To conclude: the law supposes the king cannot err, because it is willing to suppose he always acts by law, (and *voluntas legis, est voluntas regis*; or, the king's will is regulated by the law); but it says no such thing of the judges. And since they are obliged by oath to disregard the king's letters (though under the broad and privy seal) if they any wise oppugn or contradict the law of the land; and considering that every single action of an inferior minister has an ugly reference to the supreme magistrate, where not rebuked; we cannot but conclude, that both judges
are

are answerable for their irregularities, especially where they had not a limitation of a king's letter, or command; and that the supreme magistrate is obliged, as in honour and safety to himself, Alfred-like, to bring such to condign punishment; lest every session produce the like tragical scenes of usurpation over the consciences of juries, to the vilifying and contemning of justice, and great detriment and prejudice of the good and honest men of this famous and free city.

FIAT JUSTITIA.

THE

T H E

CHRISTIAN QUAKER,

A N D H I S

DIVINE TESTIMONY

STATED and VINDICATED,

F R O M

SCRIPTURE, REASON, and AUTHORITY.

By WILLIAM PENN.

veritas fatigari potest, vinci non potest. Ether. & Beat. lib. 1.

Published in the Year 1669.

T H E
P R E F A C E.

To the NOBLE BEREANS of this AGE.

WHEN our dear Lord Jesus Christ, the blessed author of the Christian religion, first sent forth his disciples, to proclaim the happy approach of the heavenly kingdom, among several other things that he gave them in charge, it pleased him to make this one of their instructions; “ Into whatsoever city or “ town ye shall enter, enquire who in it is worthy;” foreseeing the ill use unworthy persons would make of that message, and with what unweariness the implacable pharisee, and subtle scribe, would endeavour to pervert the right way of the Lord, and thereby prejudice the simple against the reception of that excellent testimony.

This being the case of the people called Quakers, who above every tribe of men are most maliciously represented, bitterly envied, and furiously oppugned by many of the scribes and pharisees of our time, for as impious wretches as those of that time reputed our blessed Saviour and his constant followers to be; it becometh us, in a condition so desperate, to provide ourselves with some worthy readers, men that dare trust their reason above reports, and be impartial in an age as biassed as this we live in; whose determinations shall not wait upon the sentence of ignorance nor interest, but a sincere and punctual examination of the matter.

And since there are none recorded in sacred writ, on whom the Holy Ghost conferred so honourable a character,

character, but the Bereans of that age (for that they both searched after truth impartially, and when they found it, embraced it readily, for which they were entitled noble); therefore it is that to you, the offspring of that worthy stock, and noble Bereans of our age, I, in behalf of the so much calumniated abettors of the cause of truth, chose to dedicate this defence of our holy profession from the injurious practices of a sort of men, who, not unlike to the Jews of Thessalonica, that, envying the prosperity of the gospel among your ancestors, made it their business to stir up the multitude against the zealous promoters of it. And no matter what it be, provided they can but obtain their end of fixing an odium upon the Quakers: they do not only boldly condemn what they esteem worst in us (how deservedly we will not now say) but insinuate what is best to be criminal.

The sobriety of our lives, they call a cheat for custom; and our incessant preachings and holy living, a decoy to advance our party: if we say nothing to them when they interrogate us, it is fullness or inability; if we say something to them, it is impertinency, or equivocation. We must not believe as we do believe, but as they *would have* us believe, which they are sure to make obnoxious enough, that they may the more securely inveigh against us. Nor must our writings mean what *we say* we mean by them, but what they will have them to mean, lest they should want proofs for their charges. It was our very case that put David upon that complaint, “Every day
“ they wrest my words: all their thoughts are against
“ me for evil.” But to David’s God we commit our slandered cause, and to you the Bereans of our age.

Degenerate not from the example of your progenitors; if you do, you are no longer true Bereans, and to such we inscribe this work: if you do not, we may assure ourselves of the justice of a fair enquiry and an equal judgment.

The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ augment your desire after truth, give you clearer discerning of the truth, and enable you both more readily to receive, and with greater resolution to maintain the truth. I am

A Christian Quaker, and

Your Christian friend,

W I L L I A M P E N N.

T H E

CHRISTIAN QUAKER, &c.

C H A P. I.

The introduction. Three questions proposed, stating the matter to be treated upon. First, what is salvation? Ans. To be saved from sin, as well as from wrath; and not from wrath without sin.

BEING to write of the light of Christ within, the great principle of God in man, the root and spring of divine life and knowledge in the soul; that by which salvation is effected for man, and which is the characteristick of the people called Quakers, their faith and testimony to the world; I choose to consider it under these three following questions, as stated by none of the meanest of our adversaries, being comprehensive of the principle, its force, and friends; wherein I endeavour to solve those objections, as they naturally arise, which either have been, or may be, advanced against what is asserted by us, in favour of this divine principle, and its effects upon mankind: which I recommend to my readers serious consideration; desiring that patience and impartiality may keep them company in the perusal thereof; it being writ for their advantage, as well as our vindication, that they may have a nearer and clearer prospect of that way the blessed ever trod to glory.

1. What is that salvation, which the light leads to?
2. What is this light, and how does this light lead to it? And,

3. Who

3. Who has the right to observe the work of the committee, and, in observing, what are the limits of the right?

I. By salvation. we understand, as by scripture is delivered to us. John being saved from sin here, 'and the wages of sin, which is death to come.' Whereby we are taught not to repose and reject the common assumption of it, as the full and complete form of the virtue virtue barely to be saved from punishment here in which security, through a vain expectation of salvation, whilst not really and actually saved from the power of sin, through the invisible power of Christ, thousands die. In short, we call salvation, 'Christ's making an end of sin, destroying the works of the devil; finishing of transgression; binding the strong man, and spoiling of his goods in the hearts and consciences of men and women; and bringing in his everlasting righteousness into the soul, whereby to cleanse, wash, regenerate, renew and refresh the soul,' in one scriptural phrase, "to save his people from their sins."

These are the times of refreshment, and this is the day of restitution; and thus is he King, to reign, Prophet, to give vision; and High Priest, to anoint with the holy unction, that leadeth his people into all truth, whose lips alone preserve knowledge; and therefore it is the unchangeable gospel-rule to believe; and those who are thus freed, or saved here, from the power, nature, and defilement of sin, are the persons that are or shall be hereafter saved from eternal wrath and vengeance; the heavy consequences of sin. All this we understand by that word salvation, and in this center the great and glorious prophecies and performances of Christ.

C H A P. II.

The second question stated: particularly what is meant by light. It is a principle that discovers the state of man, and leads to blessedness.

THE second question runs thus: what is that light which leadeth to salvation, and how doth it lead to salvation?

By light, I understand not the metaphorical use of the word; as when Christ said to his disciples, "Ye are the lights of the world;" or, as the apostle speaks, "Now are ye light in the Lord;" nor yet the mere spirit or reason of man; but Christ, that glorious Sun of righteousness, and heavenly luminary of the intellectual or invisible world; represented, of all outward resemblances, most exactly by the great sun of this sensible and visible world: that as this natural light ariseth upon all, and gives light to all, about the affairs of this life; so that divine light ariseth upon all, and gives light to all that will receive the manifestations of it, about the concerns of the other life. Such a light I mean by "that light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world," and that leadeth those that obey it to eternal salvation.

The scripture says no less, John i. 4, 9. "In the Word of God was life, and that (very) life was the light of men, that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world."

But to demonstrate it the most obviously that I can, to the lowest capacities, I shall evidence the nature and virtue of this principle, light, by the holy effects of it, which is the how, or the which way, it leadeth to salvation. This is so necessary in order to explicate the other, that as the tree is known by its fruits, so is the true Saviour by his salvation. If then I can make it appear, that the light, as obeyed in all its discoveries and requirings, is sufficient to salvation; all must yield to the efficacy of the light within.

I shall

I shall then, by the properties of this light, prove it saving: in order to which, I shall begin with the first step towards salvation, viz. a fight of the cause of damnation; and that this is given us by the light within, the scripture is very plain, which is the great record of saving truth, and of that blessed testimony Christ has left to his flock.

C H A P. III.

That the light within manifests sin; yea, all sin. That apostacy, or sin in any, is no argument against the light. That the services of the Jews shew no imperfection in the light, but in the people, whose minds were abroad. If insufficiency against the light should be admitted, because of the wickedness of men; the same may be objected against the scriptures; which overthrows our adversary's assertion concerning their sufficiency.

THE light, with which Christ lighteth all men, manifests sin, as these words import; "For every one that doth evil, hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be re-proved:" implying, that if they would have brought their deeds to the light, the light would have detected them, and tried them; which makes the light the touchstone, rule, and judge of conversation and practice. To which the apostle Paul bears express testimony, in his epistle to the Ephesians, "that whatsoever is reprov'd, is made manifest by the light; for whatsoever makes manifest, is light:" where the universality of the apostle's assertion shews, that nothing that is reprov'd, as all sin is, is or can be excluded from the search or knowledge of this light: which takes in as well thoughts, as words and deeds. So that nothing being reprov'd, which the light doth

^a John iii. 20. ^b Eph. v. 13.

not first manifest, how obvious is it to every understanding, that the light must needs have been, and be in all men, in order to such manifestation and conviction, or man could not have known sin.

It is as much as if the apostle had said, ‘ Sin is that which damns all men; now it could not damn, if it were not reproveable; and it could never be reproveable, if the light did not manifest and condemn it as such.’ So that our adversaries affirming the light not to be sufficient to discern all sin, is a flat repugnancy, and a downright giving of the lie to the apostle. For, says the apostle, “ all things that are reprov’d, are made manifest by the light.” But, say they, all things that are reprov’d, are not made manifest by the light. Sober reader, dwell here a while, and after a little pause tell me, who deals most unworthily with the apostle, and the holy scriptures of truth, they or the Quakers?

Obj. But it is objected, If there be that light in all men, how comes it, that all men are not convicted of their disobedience and duty, as the heathens of old, and many infidels at this day? Did the light in Saul reprove him for persecuting the church?

I answer, That this objection does no way impugn or lessen the efficacy of the light, although it greatly aggravates their evil that so rebelled against it. But that there were heathens, who became a law unto themselves, through the degree of light they had, by which they did the things contained in the law, and were preferred far before the circumcision that kept not the law; the apostle Paul himself is very express in that known passage to the Romans, ch. ii. Nor are other histories silent, but loud in their acknowledgment of very divine attainments, which, by this light, several famous Gentiles arrived at; who, for their belief of One Eternal Being, his communication

‘ That is the cause.

of

of divine light to men, the necessity of holy living, and of an immortality, with their strict manners, are left with honour upon record by credible writers, and their praises not a little augmented by after-ages, even of those called Christians too. Such were, Pythagoras, Timæus, Solon, Bias, Chilon, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Plato, Plotin, Antisthenes, Xenocrates, Zeno, Antipater, Seneca, Epictetus, Plutarch, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and others.

But what if Jews and Gentiles at any time did apostatize; and, particularly, what if Saul persecuted the church of God, putting disobedience for duty, murder for service, will it follow, that the light was insufficient? By no means, but rather that Saul was rebellious, stiff-necked, resisting the Holy Ghost; as did his fathers, so did he: and thus much the words themselves shew; for it is said by the text, “ he “ kicked against the pricks.” Then it seems there were pricks: and were where they, if not in his conscience? And what were they, if not the convictions of the light of Christ within him, which manifests evil, and reproves the deeds thereof? otherwise called the Son of God, which to the Galatians he said, “ it “ had pleased God to reveal to him ”^d: though Paul knew him not, nor his voice of a long time, his eye being darkened, and ear stopped by the god of this world, who had crept into the outward forms of religion, then, as now, and therein employed many emissaries to decry that pure, heavenly, and invisible life of truth and righteousness, which was then, and is now, begotten in the hearts of many, not only to confound the idolatries of the Gentiles, but to end the formality and outward services of both Jews and carnal Christians.

And I affirm on God’s behalf, and with the reason of a man, that it is most absurd for any to charge the rebellion of men to the insufficiency of the light: for if men are wicked, is it not against knowledge? And

^d Gal. i. 16.

if it be, where is the fault? Else, if men are so, not because they would not be better, but because they neither see, nor know, nor are able to do better, how heavy, how black, and how blasphemous a character doth the consequence of such an opinion fasten upon the good and righteous God of heaven and earth; since it supposes him not to have given means sufficient to do that which he requires of them, and for not doing of which they are to be sentenced to eternal misery? But I confess, how deep soever this may stick with impartial spirits, I almost despair of entering some of our adversaries, whose souls are pinched up within the narrow compass of a most unmerciful kind of predestination; making the eternal God as partial as themselves; like some ancients, that because they could not resemble God, they would make such gods as might resemble them.

I say, what else can be the tendency of this kind of doctrine, against the sufficiency of the light within, than that the gift of God is not perfect, or able, because men do not obey it: and that the talent God has given to all, is therefore insufficient for the end for which it was given, because man hides it in a napkin?

Again, Let them tell me, would it be a good argument, that if the same corn should be sown in a fertile, and a barren soil, that growing in one, and not in the other, the fault should be in the seed, and not rather in the ground?

Who knows not, how tradition and custom have overlaid much of conviction, and benumbed the world, and that it is, through lusts and pleasures, become blind and stupid as to the invisible things of God. Alas! there had never been so much need of many exterior dispensations and appearances of God, in reference to religion, so much preferred by the professors of this day, had not mens minds been departed from the inward light and life of righteousness: so that they being outward and abroad, God was pleased to meet them there in some external manifestations; yet

yet so, as to turn them home again to their first love; to that light and life which was given of God, as the way and guide to eternal salvation.

Nor could any of those things cleanse, as concerning the conscience; wherefore God still, by his servants and prophets, admonished and warned the people of old, “to put away the evil of their doings, “and cease to do evil, and learn to do well, and to “wash themselves, and to cleanse themselves;” for that all their exactness in outward services was otherwise but as the “cutting off a dog’s neck:” a sacrifice equally pleasing. Wherefore the abrogation of all outward dispensations, and the reducing man to his first state of inward light and righteousness, is called in scripture, “the times of refreshment, and “the restitution of all things.”

In short, though there have been external observations and ordinances in the world, by God’s appointment, as figures and shadows of the good things to come, either to prevent the Jews from the outward splendid worship of the idolatrous Gentiles, that he might retain a peculiar sovereignty over them, or to shew forth unto them a more hidden and invisible glory; this remains sure for ever, that light within there was, and that the ancients saw their sins by it, and that there could be no acceptance with God, but as they walked up to it, and were taught to put away the evil of their doings by it: suitable to that notable passage, “the path of the just is a shining light, that “shines clearer and clearer unto the perfect day.” I would fain know what this day was, if not that of salvation? Can there be any night or darkness in the day? Surely no. What if their light was not so large, was it therefore not saving? Yes surely. But as, where much is given, much is required, so where little is given, but little is required. If the light was not so gloriously manifested before the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ in the flesh, less was then required

than since; yet it follows not that there were two lights, or that the light was not saving, before the visible appearance of Christ, to as many as lived in an holy conformity to it.

And if it be agreed, that blindness in men can be no argument against the light of the sun, neither is this light insufficient, because the people of any nation remain blind through their vain customs and evil practices. Nay, should any such doctrine be admitted, what would become of our adversaries opinion, ‘ that
‘ the light of mere scripture is sufficient of itself to
‘ give men the knowledge of God?’ For if those that have the scriptures do not know, believe, and obey God, as they ought to do, will it not follow upon such a principle, that the defect is not in them, but in the scriptures? Certainly, the consequence will hold as well against the scriptures, as against the light within. If then such must wrong the scripture, who so dispute, let them that think so endeavour to right the light, and no longer maintain a position, that, being admitted, would overturn the authority of the scripture, as well as that of the light within.

C H A P. IV.

Another objection against the light’s sufficiency to manifest what ought to be done, though it were able to discover what should be avoided. It is answered, the light not telling man all it knows, or man may know in time to come, is no argument to prove it knows not all things. Men know more than they do; let them first obey what they know, and then what is convenient will be farther revealed. It is proved from the reason of contraries; because it shews what ought not to be done, from scripture at large, it does instruct what to do; and that there is virtue in it, to the salvation of all that believe and obey it. That there is no essential difference between the seed, light, word, spirit, life, truth, power,

power, unction, bread, water, flesh and blood: only so denominated from the various manifestations, operations, and effects of one and the same divine principle in man.

BUT there is a second objection, viz. ‘that there seems
 ‘ to be a manifest insufficiency in the light, be-
 ‘ cause though several things are revealed by it, yet se-
 ‘ veral necessary matters are not, nor cannot; so that
 ‘ though it should manifest all that is reproveable,
 ‘ yet cannot it discover all that is necessary to be either
 ‘ believed or done.’

I answer, This is but a piece of the former objection already considered. I perceive the pinch lies here, that because men do not what they should, or do not know all that may be fit for them to know, therefore the light is insufficient. The first will be answered by what I have already said, the reason being the same for the sufficiency of the light, against such as charge it with defect, because they do not what they should, as against those who so impeach it, because they do those things which they should not.

As for not knowing by this light all that is fit to be known, I deny it utterly: for things are necessary in reference to their proper times: that may be requisite to-morrow, which is not to-day. It is fit for children to learn to read, yet it is most necessary that they should begin first to spell. If a schoolmaster should be charged with insufficiency, because he tells not little children as soon as they come all that he knows, or all at once, when he initiates them in the first principles of learning, he would think himself unreasonably dealt with. What then must we conclude, but that the master may be very capable to teach, were his scholar so, and willing to learn? That if the scholar observes and obeys his master, he will increase in his learning: that the defect of the scholar should not be laid upon his master: that to tell or amuse him about things unsuitable to his present ca-
 capacity

capacity, were the ready way to overcharge and wholly spoil him: and consequently that the tutor not telling his pupil all that is fit to be known at once, implies no defect or ignorance of those things in the tutor: which, to apply scripturally, is in brief thus: ‘ If
 ‘ you do my will, you shall know (more) of my
 ‘ doctrine:’ “ I have yet many things to say, but you
 “ are not able to bear them now.” If to say, that the light of the gospel is to be charged with insufficiency, because it discovered not to every believer all those ineffable things revealed to the apostle, be both false and antichristian, to what an extremity of zeal are they led against the blessed light of the Son of God, as he is the Enlightener of mankind, who charge it with insufficiency, because it reveals not at once to every individual, in every age, all that he shall ever know, or that shall be known to others in future times.

The light then is not insufficient, though it does not tell me all at one time, which may be a duty to the end of the world, especially in extraordinary cases, whilst it informs me, or any man, of daily duty. Yea, the light is sufficient in point of discovery, whilst it shews people much more than they do, and yet what they ought to perform. If such will say, and can prove, that they are come to the upshot of the light’s teaching, and that they have learned whatever it is possible for the light of Christ to teach them, and yet are able to make appear, that there is something farther wanting, they will prove themselves not only above men, but God also, who is the
 “ Fountain of all light, that searcheth the heart, and
 “ trieth the reins of men by the insinings of his
 “ manifesting light, and which, as obeyed, lead to
 “ God, who is the fulness of all light and life.” But indeed, this light is the favour of death, the wages of sin, to all that rebel against it; and the favour of life to those only who are obedient to it: for such

shall not walk in darkness, but have the light of life.

To conclude, If the light be allowed to manifest all things that are reproveable, then, by the just reason of contraries, should it be sufficient to discover all things that are reproveable, with respect to man's faith, salvation and duty. If the light tells us, it is evil not to believe in God, it follows, that to believe in God is according to the convictions of the light within. And if it reproves a man for not being, it consequently teacheth him what he ought to be. If the light condemns theft, does it not necessarily instruct to honesty? If it reproves me for doing my own will, it implies, I ought to do his will to whom I owe all: and if it checks a man for sin, it instructeth him thereby to holiness, "without which none shall see God." In short, if it manifest reproveable things to be such, at the same time it condemns them, and teacheth things quite contrary: the unfruitful works of darkness are judged by the light, that the holy fruits of the light may appear: "Ye were darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord;"^a and "The reproofs of instruction are the way of life."^b He that comes out of the reproved darkness, walks in the approved light; and who so answers the holy reproof, unto such is "sealed up the instruction of the way of life." And this brings me to the third property of the light, with respect to men; and that is, it doth not only manifest and condemn sin, and discover and incline to purity, but, as adhered to (or rather that principle which is this light) it is able, in point of power and efficacy, to redeem from sin, and lead to a state of highest felicity. "I am the light of the world, (said Jesus himself); he that follows me, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life."^c In which it is very evident, that the same light, which manifests darkness, redeems from it, and brings to a state of life: that is to say, those

^a Eph. v. 8. ^b Prov. vi. 23. ^c John viii. 12.

who confidently believe in Christ, as he manifests himself a light in their consciences, to condemn sin in every man's flesh (whom he hath therefore illuminated) and that obediently follow the holy requirings of it (relinquishing the pleasures of sin, which last but for a season, and taking up the daily cross to their own lusts and wills) shall most assuredly find this divine principle, (which, in reference to the dark state of men, and the discerning and conviction it brings with it, is rightly denominated light) to have also power and efficacy to save from that which it manifests and condemns men for, and to bring them unto that glory, of which it gives a true revelation and hope. For the same Word of God, who is called the "True light that enlighteneth all mankind, is also the life, power, wisdom and righteousness of the Father, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom, and unto whom all power, both in heaven and earth, is committed, who is heir of all things:" who also said, when in the world, "While ye have the light, walk in the light," (for their day of visitation was almost over) or, as some translations more truly have it, "While you have a little light in you, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of the light." Again, "I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believes in me should not abide in darkness.¹" So that a sincere faith in and obedience to the light of Christ, as it shines in the heart, whereby to give the living and experimental knowledge of the glory of God unto the creature, is the way to be redeemed from darkness, and to be made a child of light; or that there is power and virtue sufficient in the light of Christ to ransom the souls of such as diligently adhere to it, from under the power of darkness. For as the true knowledge of God is life eternal^a, so whatever may be known of God, is manifested within^b; which manifestation cannot well be without this light, whose peculiar property

¹ John xii. 36, 46. ^a John xvii. 3. ^b Rom. i. 19.

it is to discover, reveal, or manifest the mind and will of God to mankind, as saith the apostle; “For whatsoever doth make manifest is light. In him was life, and that life was the LIGHT of men:” But not therefore the LIFE of men *spiritually*, and unitedly considered; that was the peculiar privilege of those only who BELIEVED in it, and walked according to it.

There is a great difference, though not in the principle, yet in its appearance to man, between life and light. Such as truly believe in it, the Word-God, as he appears to illuminate the heart and conscience, and obey it, do really come to know and enjoy a new nature, spirit, and life: and in that sense it may be said, as the life in the Word became the light in man, so the light by obedience became the life in man. “He that follows me shall not walk in darkness, but have the light of life,” said Jesus. Not that they differ in kind, only in operation, with respect to man: for as it is the very life of the Word (*in the Word*) it is the light of men; and so much it is, let them reject the virtue of it, if they will: but it is no more than so in man, unless received and believed by him; and then it begets life, motion, heat, and every divine qualification in the soul, suitable to the state of the new birth. And thus the life of the Word, which is light common, becomes the life of every such particular, by communicating to, or ingenerating life in the soul; so that it is no more he that lives, but Christ (the Word-God, whom he hath now put on, and who is become his very life, as well as light) that liveth and dwelleth in him.

Let not men then in their dark imaginations, with their borrowed knowledge from the mere letter of the scriptures, contend against the sufficiency of what they obey not, neither have tried, and so cannot judge of its power, virtue, and efficacy; which works out salvation for as many as are turned to it, and abide therein.

• Ephes. v. 13. John i. 4. P John viii. 12.

And

And indeed, so very express are the scriptures in defence of the sufficiency and necessity of the light to salvation, that it seems to have been the great design of our Lord Jesus Christ, in delegating his disciples to preach his everlasting gospel, viz. “That they might
 “open the eyes of people, and turn them from dark-
 “ness to the light, and from the power of Satan
 “unto God, that they might receive remission of
 “sins, and an inheritance among them that are sanc-
 “tified through faith that is in Me.” Who is this
 ME? He that is both the light of the world, and the power of God unto salvation. Now certainly the eyes that were then blind were not the natural, but spiritual eyes of men, (and such must also be the darkness and light also) blinded by the god of this world, who rules in the hearts of the children of disobedience: no wonder then if the light was not comprehended of the darkness, and that blind people did not see the light: but it plainly proves, that light there was, though not seen. Now the work of the powerful ministry of the apostles was, to open this blind or dark eye of man’s mind, which the god of this world hath blinded, and then to turn them from that darkness to the light; the darkness or evil was within, so was the light also; since the illumination was necessary, where the darkness was predominant: consequently, the way to be translated from Satan’s power unto God, and to have remission of sins, and an inheritance with them that are sanctified, is, to be turned from the darkness, or sin in the heart, unto the marvellous light, that had long shined there uncomprehended, to wit, the gospel, which is called both the light and power of God.

The same apostle, in his epistle to the Romans, is more express concerning the holy nature and efficacy of the light to salvation, when he thus exhorts them: “The night is far spent, the day is at hand; let us
 “therefore cast off the works of darkness, and put on
 “the armour of light; let us walk honestly, as in the

“ day; not in rioting and drunkenness; not in cham-
 “ bering and wantonness; not in strife and envy; but
 “ put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no pro-
 “ vision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof.”
 From whence I shall briefly remark three things,
 greatly to our purpose, and the truth’s defence in this
 matter.

That there is an absolute opposition betwixt light
 and darkness: as darkness can only veil the light from
 the understandings of men, so light only can discover
 and dispel that darkness. Or thus: that the light ma-
 nifests and condemns the works of darkness: “ For,
 “ what communion hath light with darkness?”
 Their difference shews the divine efficacy of the light.

2. That in this light there is armour, which being
 put on, is able to defend against and conquer dark-
 ness, and secure the soul from the evil of it: other-
 wise, it would be very strange, that the apostle should
 exhort the people to put it on, to defend them against
 the worker and works of darkness.

3. That putting on the armour of the light, and
 putting on the Lord Jesus Christ (the light of the
 world) are synonymous, or one and the same thing,
 and for one and the same end; as may be observed
 from the apostle’s words, “ Let us put on the armour
 “ of light, and walk honestly, as in the day; not in
 “ rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and
 “ wantonness, not in strife and envying. But put ye
 “ on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision
 “ for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof.”

I hope then, neither will it be disallowed that Christ
 is that light, with which men are enlightened, (but
 more of that anon) nor is that light men are exhorted
 by us to obey, a naked and insufficient, but a search-
 ing, expelling, powerful, and arming light, against
 darkness, and all its unfruitful works, and consequently
 saving.

• Rom. xiii. 12, 13, 14.

• 2 Cor. vi. 14.
 13, 14.

• Rom. xiii. 12,

Thus the beloved disciple testifies very emphatically, in his first epistle, where he gives us a relation of the apostolical mission: "This then is the message which we have heard of him, and declare unto you, that God is light, and in him is no darkness at all. If we say, we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth. But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin."

Here is a brief stating of the whole great case of salvation. (1.) What God is; LIGHT. (2.) Who they are that can have no fellowship with him; "such as walk in darkness, that is sin." (3.) Who they are that have fellowship with him; "such as walk in the light, as he is in the light." (4.) The reason, why, is given; because such as walk in the light, are therein sure to feel the virtue of Christ's blood to cleanse them from all unrighteousness. Where observe, that the light's leading us out of darkness (that is, unrighteousness) is the same with the "Blood of Jesus Christ, cleansing from all sin." Sin and darkness, and to be cleansed from the one, and to be translated from the other, are in the text equivalent; otherwise a man might be delivered from darkness, and walk in the light, and not be cleansed from sin, which is that darkness: a thing absurd and impossible. In short, they go together.

By this it is evident, that the light being walked in, doth directly lead to God, and fellowship with him, who is the saving light and health of all nations; and consequently, that the light leads to salvation; for that is salvation.

Many are the denominations that are given in scripture to one and the same thing: Christ is called, the Word, the Light, the Way, the Truth, the Life, the quickening Spirit, the saving Health, the Saviour, Em-

anuel, a Rock, a Door, a Vine, a Shepherd, &c. A state of sin is sometimes called darkness, death, disobedience, barrenness, rebellion, stiff-neckedness, eating of four grapes; and wicked men, briars, thorns,istles, tares, dead trees, wolves, goats, &c. On the contrary, a state of conversion is sometimes expressed by such words, as purged, refined, washed, cleansed, sanctified, justified, led by the Spirit, baptized by one spirit into one body, made circumcision without hands; generated, redeemed, saved, bought with a price, &c. And persons so qualified, the children of God, children of light, children of the kingdom, heirs of glory, lambs, sheep, wheat, &c. And that by which they became or continued thus, light, spirit, grace, sword, fire, sword, hammer, power, seed, truth, way, life, blood, water, bread, unction that leadeth into all truth. All which, respectively, is but one and the same in nature, notwithstanding the great variety of metaphors, or names given in scripture. So sin, or a sinful state, is variously denominated, from the divers operations and discoveries of the nature of it in wicked men. The like may be said of the several virtues in good and holy men, as of that one divine principle, which so qualifies and preserves them. For as the primitive saints felt the operation of the one holy principle, so they denominated it: to men in darkness they called it light; to such as believed and obeyed, it became a leader: and those who had witnessed their sins conquered, their lusts cut down, their hearts broken, and their souls washed, redeemed, and daily nourished in the truth, they called this divine principle a sword, a fire, an hammer, water, flesh, blood, and seed, and seed of life. In short, the same heavenly principle became light, wisdom, power, counsel, redemption, sanctification, and eternal salvation unto those who believed in it. So that the variety of expressions in the scriptures, must not be taken for so many distinct things in kind, no, nor sometimes in operation.

And indeed, notwithstanding the light some would lodge in the bare scriptures, *exclusive* of the Spirit, the wise men of the world, met together, would confounded to give a right account of the matter therein contained, if they were not living, experimental witnesses of the work of the Holy Spirit therein pressed. For as he is not an evidence sufficient by himself human, that was not an eye or ear-witness, neither they the right evidences for God and Christ, who have not been eye and ear-witnesses of the light, spirit of grace, and word of God in their hearts; and I with boldness affirm, they have no more title to the glorious promises declared in scripture, than a man has to a large deed of gift, where he is not at all named or intended. It is time then for such to look about them, lest the midnight-cry overtake them, and their lamp be found without oil: for I must needs reprove them, in the beloved disciple's language, "He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in the darkness, even until now." And in my own language, that I take it to be their state, who suffer so much envious displeasure against an harmless suffering people, that never yet offended, much less justified provoked them. But would they bring their thoughts, words and deeds to this light of Jesus, in their own consciences, and let true judgment pass upon every thought, words and deeds, and patiently undergo the heavenly chastisements thereof, for their disobedience to it, and vilifying of it, they would come to witness a conversion from darkness to light, and continuing walk therein, as that holy way in which the ransomed of the Lord always did, do, and shall walk through all generations, and which leads to the enjoyment of eternal peace. And such is the excellency of Christ the true light of the soul, that as he was the first, shall he be the last; yea, when all outward performances, writings, and worships, and the whole work shall be at an end, the use and excellency of this light shall be for ever, as saith John the Divine; "And his face, and his name shall be written on the foreheads of the saints."

“ in their foreheads; and there shall be no night there; and they need no candle, neither light of the sun, for the Lord God giveth them light, and they shall reign for ever and ever. Amen.*”

C H A P. V.

An objection against the light's antecendency to Christ's coming. The light saving from Adam's day, through the holy patriarchs and prophets time, down to Christ's, proved from scripture.

HAVING then plainly shewn from the scripture, (1.) That the light is saving since the time of Christ; beginning with its first appearance in man, as manifesting of sin; (2.) Condemning of it; (3.) Redeeming those from sin that obey it; and that the same principle which is called light, is the seed, grace, truth, word, spirit, power, unction, water, way, life, flesh and blood mystical; and therefore not another being than that which all that own plain scripture must confess doth save; I call it the ‘Light of salvation, or that leads to salvation.’

But there remain yet several objections to be answered; which done, we shall immediately proceed to give judgment upon the question, *who*, or *what*, this light is, with respect to all our adversaries cavils.

Object. ‘Though the universality of a saving light, from the scriptures, since Christ's life, death, resurrection and ascension, be proved and allowed; yet the pinch of the controversy will be this, Where was this light *before*? Had any this saving light, (they *had* a light) *before* the coming of Christ in the flesh? as they must, if your doctrine of the light be true.’

* Rev. xxii. 4, 5. * Tit. ii. John xiv. 6. John i. 1, 2, iii. 4, 9. 1 Cor. xv. 45, 47. & i. 24. 1 John ii. 27. and v. 6, 7, 8. John vi. 51, 52, 53.

To which I shall give my answer, both from scripture, history and reason.

I. The first scripture I shall quote, is in the first of Genesis: "So God created man in his own image; in the image of God created he him."²

From whence I draw this argument, That if man was made in God's image; then, because God is light, Adam must necessarily have had of the divine light *in him*, and have been the image of this light, so long as he walked in it; because no man walks in the light, but he becomes the child of light. And as the apostle Paul expresseth it of such as were converted to that light they had once erred from, "Ye were darkness; but now are ye light in the Lord." That is, through obedience to the light of the Lord Jesus, with which he hath lighted you, you are become 'Light in the Lord, and lights in your generation.' For any man then to say, Adam had not light, were to suppose his innocent state to be that of darkness; and instead of being God's image, who is, and ever was, and always will be, light, he would have been wholly ignorant of him, in whose image he is said to have been created.

II. This Moses directed the children of Israel to, when he, in God's stead, recommended, and earnestly pressed the keeping of the commandment and word in the heart, as we read in Deuteronomy. "For this commandment which I command thee this day, is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldst say, who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it? But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it. See, I have set before thee this day, life and good, and death and evil."²

From whence I cannot but observe these three things:

¹ Gen. i. 27. ² Deut. xxx, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.

1. That the *commandment*, and the *word*, are so called by way of excellency and pre-eminence to all *written* commandments or words.

2. That this commandment or word is nigh, even in the heart of man itself: none need or ought to plead distance or ignorance, to excuse their disobedience.

3. That the setting of life and good, death and evil before them, was and could only be, in and through the *shinings* of the *light* within; else how could they have seen good and evil set before them? and that it was in their hearts the Lord set those states before them, the verse immediately follows that wherein the word is by Moses argumentatively proved, as well as affirmed, to be in the heart of man. Now, I hope, it shall not be charged upon me as a fault, and I know who will bear me out, if I say, this *commandment* is that which David spoke of, when he said, “The commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes;” and this holy word the same with that which he said was a “Lamp unto his feet, and a light unto his path, which he hid in his heart; and by hearkening to which the young man cleanseth his way:” and not another word than what Paul called the “word of faith,” which he preached, by which the just live; consequently a saving commandment, word, and light, it was and is, to such as believe and obey it.

III. The next scripture I will urge shall be this: “For thou art my lamp, O Lord; for the Lord will lighten my darkness.” Now if God was the light and lamp of that day, as certainly, then, they had a light, and such an one as was saving too; unless we should blasphemously deny God to be light, or saving, who is most certainly both. And if it should be said, This was a metaphorical way of speaking in [the royal prophet; I answer be it so; it was to shew that they

^b Psal. xix. 8.

^c Psal. cxix. 105. cxix. 11. cxix. 9. ^d Rom. x. 8.

^e Sam. ix. 22, 29.

had something to manifest to them the way God would have them to walk in, or a discovering power that attended them, by which to walk uprightly, and safely, to glory; and this is what we say.

IV. Wicked men were not without light to condemn them, as good men ever had light to preserve them. "They are of those that rebel against the light; they know not the ways thereof, nor abide in the paths thereof," said Job. In which passage it is very obvious, that wicked men have light, otherwise it would have been utterly impossible for them to have rebelled against it: nay, "against the light," implies, that it is the same light in nature with that which righteous men are guided by; answerable to another emphatical passage in the same book of Job, "Is there any number of his armies, and upon whom doth not his light arise?" Certainly, this universality strongly pleads on the behalf of our belief of the light: and if people would but venture to let it come close to their consciences, I cannot be so uncharitable as to think they would not make some acknowledgment to its universality antecedent to the coming of Christ. I shall omit to say much of its efficaciousness at that time (though one would think that light always shews us a good way from a bad one) referring it to another place: only I shall observe how Job expressed himself, when he was in his deep troubles of spirit: "O that I were as in months past, in the days when God preserved me, when his *candle shined* upon my head, and when by his light I walked through darkness^b:" where it is most apparent, that Job attributes his salvation from the darkness (which stands both for sin and affliction) unto the light wherewith God had enlightened him. And certainly, it had been utterly impossible for divers weighty things, that are delivered in that book of Job, to have been known, and said so lively, had they not been seen by the light and candle of the Lord: for in the whole book I find not one verse

^f Job, xxiv, 13.

^g Job, xxv. 3.

^h Job, xxix. 3.

lated out of any other scripture. It seems an original, and doubtless very early.

§ 5. To this doctrine David was no stranger, who so very often commemorates the light, and the divine excellencies of it: some few places I shall mention of whose many that I might offer.

§ 6. “The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear? The Lord is the strength of my life, of whom shall I be afraid?”

This weighty passage of the prophet is a lively testimony to the *true light*; wherein David confesseth to what the beloved disciple called his evangelical message, viz. that God is light. Next, that not only God is light, but (which doubtless was most of all to his comfort) *his* light; the Lord is *my* light, and *my* salvation: as much as if he had said, ‘Because the Lord is become my light, I have known him to be my salvation, or him by whom my salvation hath been wrought.’

§ 7. In short thus, That God is my salvation, as he is my light; or, because I have obeyed him, and made him my light, I have witnessed his salvation. O! that such professors of religion, in whom there is any moderation, would but be pleased to weigh *what* was David’s light, and *what* was his salvation; who made it his *rule* at that time of the world: of which he farther speaks:

§ 8. “God is the Lord, who hath shewed us *light*. Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a *light* unto my paths. I have not departed from thy judgments, for thou hast taught me.” This made him far wiser than his teachers in the hidden life and mystery of things, whereby David had long seen beyond all types and shadows of the good things to come, even to the very substance itself, from whence came his excellent prophecies: agreeing with that famous passage, “The path of the just is as the shining light, that shines

† Psal. xxvii. 1.

* Psal. cxviii. 27. cxi. 105, 102.

“ more

“ more and more unto the perfect day.” This strongly implies, that David, and not he alone, but the just of all ages, were attended with the discoveries and leadings of a divine light; which, through the obedience of faith, made just men, and always led them the way of salvation; unless the just way was not the saving way: but if it was, certainly it is so still; for it is the LORD HIMSELF that David calls a lamp, as he here doth the word, which Moses said was “ nigh in the heart, that men should obey it and do it.” This was the word of reconciliation in every generation, whose holy water washed their consciences from sin, that heard and obeyed it.

Again, That this light was not confined to David, or such good men, take these two passages:

“ Thou givest thy mouth to evil, and thy tongue
 “ frameth deceit: thou sittest and speakest against thy
 “ brother, thou slanderest thine own mother’s son:
 “ these things hast thou done, and I kept silence;
 “ thou thoughtest that I was altogether such an one
 “ as thyself; but I will reprove thee, and set them in
 “ order before thine eyes;” said the Lord. Again,
 “ His lightnings enlightened the world; the earth
 “ saw, and trembled.” In which two places it will
 appear, upon impartial consideration, that God hath
enlightened the world; and that by his light, which
 discovers the works and workers of darkness, he doth
reprove the inhabitants of the world, set their sins in
 order *before* them, and cause such guilty ones to *trem-
 ble* at his so appearing; which is expressly confirmed
 in that notable passage of the prophet; “ For lo! he
 “ that formeth the mountains, and createth the wind,
 “ that makes the morning darkness, and treadeth upon
 “ the high places of the earth, and declares unto man
 “ what is his thought; the Lord, the God of hosts,
 “ is his name.”

¹ Prov. iv. 18. ² Psal. l. 19, 20, 21. ³ Ib. xcvi. 4. ⁴ Amos
 iv. 13.

This the Psalmist was well acquainted with himself; when he uttered these words, “Whither shall I go from thy Spirit, or whither shall I flee from thy presence?” Which plainly shews to us, that the Spirit of the Lord and his presence were every where; and that the light thereof discovered darkness to mankind: for the question was not, whether God by his Spirit was not every where? for that all must grant, or he could not be God: but whether it was possible for David to withdraw himself into any place, where the Eternal Spirit and presence of God (who is light itself) were not *present* with him, in some sort or other, to his instruction; as the foregoing words intimate? Again, “O Lord, thou hast searched me, and known me:—thou understandest my thought afar off:—thou art acquainted with all my ways.” Which, though God knew them, it stands firm that David could not have known God or them, or that God had known them, but by the light of the Spirit; of which he says in the seventh verse following, which I have already cited, “Whither shall I go from thy Spirit?”

In short, It must needs be evident to all unprejudiced readers, David meant that he had the light of God’s Holy Spirit *present* with him, as a reprov-er, informer, or comforter; since he makes it impossible for him to be any where without it. Which may prove to us, that however he lived above a thousand years before the apostle Paul, he very well knew the meaning of that doctrine he preached to the Athenians, “God is not far away,” or at a distance, “from every one of us.” Which, truly known and experimen- tally witnessed in the soul, and that not only as a re- prover, but, by an humble and holy reception of him into the heart, as a Comforter, Shepherd, Bishop, King, and Lord, is the glory of the evangelical dispensation, where “God dwells in his holy temple, and taberna-

† Psal. cxxxix. 7.

‡ Ib. ver. 1, 2, 3.

§ Acts xvii. 27.

“cles with men.” This is the blessed Emmanuel-state, God *with*, and God *in* men.

I might here subjoin the account we have of the great illumination of Daniel, and the Gentiles clear acknowledgment of the same, as it is given us in the scripture; which they could never have done with that seriousness and conviction, but from some glimpse of the same divine light; for it must be the same light, that shews the same truths; but that I shall pass over, with several other passages of the lesser prophets; and conclude my scripture-proof of the gift of the light of God’s Spirit antecedent to Christ’s coming in the flesh, with Stephen’s testimony, “Howbeit, the Most High
“dwelleth not in temples made with hands; as saith
“the prophet: Heaven is my throne, and earth is
“my footstool; what house will you build me, saith
“the Lord? or what is the place of my rest? Hath
“not my hand made all these things? Ye stiff-necked
“and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always
“resist the Holy Ghost; as your fathers did, so do
“ye.” By which it is plain that the rebellious Jews had the Spirit of God; it strove with them, but they resisted it: and if the rebellious had it, the *obedient* were not without it.

And lest it should be objected, that it was only the spirit in Stephen then, and the holy prophets of old, that both they and their forefathers resisted, and not in *themselves*, remember, reader, that weighty passage in Nehemiah, “Thou gavest also thy good spirit to in-
“struct them, and withheldest not thy manna from
“their mouth;” by which it is most evident, that they had the *manna* to *feed* them, had the *Spirit* to *in-struct* them: but *all* had their portion of the manna to feed them, therefore *all* had also their portion of the Spirit to *instruct* them. So that the light of God’s Spirit, or the Spirit of God, was given as well to the rebellious as obedient, that it might “condemn for
“sin, as well as lead into all righteousness.” And

since we are to suppose God's Spirit, and the light thereof, to be *sufficient* to salvation, (for God's gifts are *perfect* in themselves, and are given to accomplish their ends perfectly) we may, without any offence, I hope, conclude, that during those many ages before the coming of Christ in the flesh, he did illuminate mankind with a *sufficient* measure of his divine light and spirit.

C H A P. VI.

Another objection, that though the Jews had it, it will not follow that the Gentiles were so illuminated. It is answered by several scriptures, that they were not exempted; but had a measure of light, some divine seed sown in their hearts, some talents given, and that it was sufficient. A challenge to give an instance of one that by the light within was reprov'd for not believing that Jesus was the Christ, is answered. Such as believed in the light, and walked up to it, did receive Christ when he came. The high pretenders were they who oppos'd the scripture, and crucified him. The light from scripture concluded universal and saving.

BUT here I expect this objection, having run our adversaries unavoidably to it:

Object. 'Very well: taking for granted what you have said in reference to a saving light or spirit universally bestowed upon the *Jews*, that were a **DISTINCT PEOPLE** from the rest of the world, under very many peculiar rights; yet cannot we think it good arguing to infer the gifts of God's light and spirit to the Gentiles, that make far the greatest part thereof, from these scriptures, that only seem to prove it the privilege of the Jews.'

.. To which I answer, that I conceive that I have urged those scriptures already, which give a plain conviction of the truth of that general inference: but because I am desirous from my soul, in perfect love to theirs that shall read this discourse, of removing what objections I am able to foresee it may meet with, after it shall have passed my hand, I will yet endeavour to make appear, first from *scripture*; and next from the best account we have of the doctrines and lives of *beatbens*; and lastly from *reason*, the thing; that God's love, in the illumination of his spirit, was *universal*; or that mankind was, before Christ's coming in the flesh, *enlightened* with such a measure of the light of his spirit as was saving in itself, and so experienced of all such as received and obeyed it, in the *love* of it. In order to this, I shall briefly insist on a few scriptures, some of which have been already quoted, though not so directly to this matter.

I. "My spirit shall not always strive with man."² Here observe, that no one nation was interested more than another, but *man* stands for the whole *Adam*, or *mankind*: from whence I conclude, that mankind was not destitute of the spirit, or light of the Almighty, though it might be known in no higher degree than that of a *convincer* or *reprover* of sin: yet it follows not, but that if man had *yielded* to the strivings of it, he had been thereby redeemed from the spirit of iniquity; that was the ground of his grievous revolt and resistance; which redemption I call *salvation* from sin.

II. "They are of those that rebel against the light; they know not the ways thereof, nor abide in the paths thereof."³ Here is no mention made of *Jews* more than *Gentiles* in this chapter, if at all in the whole book. For Job is here giving the character of wicked men in general, without respect to any particular nation. So that we may well infer, he did not understand that the light whereof he spoke should be limited in its illumination to any particular people.

² Gen. vi. 3. ³ Job xxiv. 13.

In short, I argue thus; If such as pluck the fatherless from the breast, and take a pledge of the poor,² (as the context relates) are those that *rebel* against the light, and walk not in its way; then, because that vice was never limited to the Jews, but other nations wrought that wickedness as well as they, it will plainly follow, that the light, against which such offenders rebelled, was not limited to the *Jews*, but extended to the *Gentiles* also: unless we should say, that what was rebellion and wickedness in the *Jews*, was not so in the *Gentiles*. But because sin was, and is sin, in its own nature, all the world over; light was, and is light, all the world over; whether men bring their deeds unto it, or not.

III. But again, let us hear the same book speak, “Is there any number of his armies? And upon whom doth not his light arise?”

This question carries in it a strong affirmative of the *universality* of God’s light; as much as to say, ‘Who is there among all the sons and daughters of men, that can justly say, I am not enlightened by him?’ If then none can, it must needs follow, that all are enlightened, as well *Gentiles* as *Jews*.

Neither is it our construction only, but the judgment of men famed in the world for their exactness in the original text, or letter of the scripture. They interpret it to be the *light of the divine wisdom*; the *fountain of light*; yea, God himself: that rebelling against the light, is against God $\tau\delta\ \phi\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\tilde{\iota}\ \text{I}\sigma\text{r}\alpha\eta\lambda$, the *light of Israel*: alluding to the Psalmist, “The Lord is my light” and my salvation.” Nay, to the light mentioned by the apostle Paul, “Ye, who were sometimes darkness, are now light in the Lord.” And that *very* light, which is said to have sprung up to them that sat in darkness, which is the light of *truth*; and by all allowed to be the evangelical, and spoke of Christ’s manifestation: also that the *ways* of light, are light, leading to the light itself, which wicked men turn

² Job xxiv. 9.

³ Ib. xiv. 3.

from, and spurn at: that this is the light, which there is none but it rises upon, whereby to give them true sight of themselves. See the criticks, Munsterius, Vatablus, Clarius, Castellio on the 17th verse^b; but especially Drusius and Codurcus, who say, ‘*All men partake of that light; and that it is sufficient to manifest and drive away the darkness of error; and that it is the light of life;*’ nay, Codurcus calls it, an *evangelical principle*; and seems to explain his mind by a quotation of the evangelist’s words, John i. 9. “That was the true light, that enlighteneth all mankind coming into the world.”

IV. Thus much those two notable parables teach us of the sower, and the Lord that gave his servants talents. They who believe scripture, must acknowledge them to represent God’s dealings with mankind, in reference to gift, duty, and reward. Observe the first parable.

“The same day went Jesus out of the house, and
 “sat by the sea-side; and great multitudes were gathered together unto him, so that he went into a
 “ship, and sat, and the whole multitude stood on the shore. And he spoke many things unto them in
 “parables, saying, Behold a sower went forth to sow; and when he sowed, some seeds fell by the way-side, and the fowls came, and devoured them up; some fell upon stony places, where they had not much earth, and forthwith they sprung up, because they had no deepness of earth, and when the sun was up, they were scorched, and because they had not root, they withered away: and some fell among thorns, and the thorns sprung up and choaked them; but other fell in good ground, and brought forth fruit; some an hundred-fold, some sixty-fold, some thirty-fold. Who hath ears to hear, let him hear.”^d

^b Munster. Vatabl. Clar. Castell. ^c Drus. and Codurc. Crit. in 24, 25, ch. ver. 13. and 3 Job. p. 3284. to 3308. chap. xxv. 3.
^d Mat. xiii. 1—10.

It is granted by all that I know of, that the seed-man is Christ: the scripture saith, the seed is the word of the kingdom, which must needs be the spiritual word nigh in the heart, suitable to the heavenly kingdom, which Christ said was *within*, otherwise called *light*, that is said to be "sown for the righteous;" or the *grace* which "comes by Christ, that appears unto all men, and brings salvation to them that are taught by it;" or the *spirit*, that quickens us: and lastly, common sense tells us, that the several grounds comprehend mankind; for they must either include the bad with the good, or the good only must be sown: but the very scripture expressly distinguisheth betwixt the good and bad ground, yet affirms the one to have been sown with the seed as well as the other: therefore God's gift is universal, however men, by wicked works, may have rendered their hearts stony, thorny, or otherwise defective and incapable of bringing forth fruit.

The other parable is also weighty, and much to the purpose: "For the kingdom of heaven is as a man travelling into a far country, who called his own servants, and delivered to them *his goods*; and unto one he gave *five talents*, to another *two*, and to another *one*; to every man according to his ability, and straightway took his journey. Then he that had received five talents, went and traded with the same, and made them other five talents; and likewise he that had received two, he also gained other two; but he that had received one, went and digged in the earth, and hid his lord's money. After a long time, the lord of those servants cometh and reckoneth with them: and so he that had received five talents came and brought other five talents, saying, Lord, thou deliveredst unto me five talents, behold, I have gained, besides them, five talents more. His lord said unto him, Well done, thou good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful

• Mat. xiii. 19.

“ over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many
 “ things; enter thou into the joy of thy lord. He
 “ also that had received two talents, came and said,
 “ Lord, thou deliveredst unto me two talents, be-
 “ hold I have gained two other talents besides them;
 “ his lord said unto him, Well done, good and faith-
 “ ful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few
 “ things, I will make thee ruler over many things;
 “ enter thou into the joy of thy lord. Then he who
 “ had received one talent, came and said, Lord, I
 “ know thee, that thou art an hard man, reaping
 “ where thou hast not sown, and gathering where
 “ thou hast not strawed; and I was afraid, and went
 “ and hid thy talent in the earth: lo, there thou hast
 “ that which is thine. His lord answered, and said
 “ unto him, Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou
 “ knewest that I reap where I sowed not, and gather
 “ where I have not strawed, thou oughtest therefore
 “ to have put my money to the exchangers, and then
 “ at my coming I should have received my own with
 “ usury: take therefore the talent from him, and give
 “ it unto him who has ten talents: for unto every one
 “ that hath shall be given, and he shall have abun-
 “ dance; but from him that has not, shall be taken
 “ away even that which he hath: and cast ye the un-
 “ profitable servant into utter darkness, there shall be
 “ weeping, and gnashing of teeth; when the Son of
 “ man shall come in his glory, and all the holy an-
 “ gels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of
 “ his glory, and before him shall be gathered all na-
 “ tions, and he shall separate them one from another,
 “ as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats, and
 “ he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the
 “ goats on the left.”

Serious reader, I have the rather repeated the scrip-
 ture at large, because of that great strength it carries
 with it, methinks to the conviction, at least confusion,
 of that narrow spirit, which confines the infinite good-

ness of God, and renders him, whilst he is the universal Creator, but a narrow benefactor; shutting up his gifts within the strait compass of a few; representing him thereby as partial as some parents, who, they know not why, besides their own unequal wills, do frequently bestow their favours (indeed their whole affection) upon an elected darling, to the manifest, though causeless neglect of the rest. But to speak the truth of the matter, the over-fondness some carry to their opinion, joined with the envy raised towards those who conform not to it, has so emptied them of all natural affection, that looking upon God in that condition, they dare think him as unnatural as themselves. For my part, I have not a great while believed but that it rather rises from an unwillingness in some that dissenters from them should be saved, (thereby endeavouring a compliance upon necessity) than that God had not been propitious unto all his creatures. For who sees not, that can or will see, that God is this sovereign Lord; that he made mankind to be his servants; that these three servants represent mankind; and to the end they might not be unprofitable, he gave them talents to improve against his return, that is, against the “day of recompence, for which they are “accountable;” that those who improve their talents may be rewarded, and they who make no improvement of their talents, may be punished with eternal separation from the presence of God, and all his holy angels.

I will conclude with these five observations:

1. That God, though it be his sovereign prerogative to give what he will, has given a talent out of his celestial treasury unto *every* man and woman.

2. That this talent is in itself sufficient: but as the best corn, so this talent, put up into a napkin, must needs be unprofitable: yet, that the fault is in the party neglecting or hiding of it, and not in itself.

3. That those who improve not their talent, are most apt to charge God with reaping where he sows not; as do many professors we have to do with, that

make God to require an account of all, and yet deny, in order to rendering up this account with joy, that he has given to all a talent sufficient thereunto.

4. That the eternal estate of men and women, as sheep and goats, depends upon their improving, or not improving of that heavenly talent wherewith God has endued them.

Lastly, Neither is there any shelter for these men, under the inequality of the number of talents; for it is not *how many* talents are given, but *what improvement* is made of what is given: wherefore greater is his reward, who makes one talent three, than his, who of ten advances but to fifteen; since the one makes but half, whilst the other makes treble improvement.

Blessed therefore are you all, and will you assuredly be in the day of the Lord's recompence, who, disregarding the vanities, pleasures, cares, honours, and carnal religions of the world, diligently mind your own talent, and are, in the pure fear and holy counsel of the Lord, making your daily improvement of the same, "laying up treasure" in the high and heavenly place, that is durable and everlasting.

V. This reasonable truth is yet farther manifest, from the weighty words of our Lord Jesus Christ: "For every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither comes to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved."^s To which I would add, as before, that of the apostle, "Whatsoever is reproved, is made manifest by the light."^h Certainly then, unless men will be so unjust to God, as to think (contrary to scripture and reason) he should let millions of men, and scores of generations, live in sin, *without* a light to shew it them, or a law to limit them, it must be yielded, that they had light and law in their hearts and consciences, by which they were convicted of sin, and that such as obeyed it, were helped and led to work righteousness; since their refusing to bring their

^s John iii. 20.

^h Eph. v. 13.

deeds to the light, was not an act of ignorance, but design; because they knew their deeds would be condemned, and they for them; which loudly asserts, that they both had a light, and knew they had it, though they rebelled against it. And if I should grant, that whatever was reproveable was not made manifest unto them, yet this will no ways impeach the capacity of the light to do it. It is evident, that some things which the Gentiles did *were* reprov'd; therefore they *had* the light: and if they had it not in all the extent of its revelation, the light was no more to be blamed, than that guide was, whose passengers never came to their journey's end, because they never would begin, at least proceed, by his direction. Had the heathens been faithful to the light that God had given them, and not been blinded by the vain idolatries and superstitious traditions of their fathers, they had more fully known and learned the mind and will of their Creator; which some of those Gentiles notwithstanding did, as will anon appear.

VI. Thus the apostle Paul teaches us to believe, in that remarkable passage of his in the first chapter to the Romans: "For I am not ashamed of the gospel
 " of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salva-
 " tion, to every one that believeth, to the *Jew* first,
 " and also to the *Greek*. For therein is the righteous-
 " ness of God revealed, from faith to faith: as it is
 " written, The just shall live by faith. For the wrath
 " of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodli-
 " ness, and unrighteousness of men, who hold the
 " truth in unrighteousness. Because that which may
 " be known of God is manifest *in them*, for God hath
 " *shewed* it unto them. For the invisible things of
 " him from the creation of the world are clearly seen,
 " being understood by the things that are made, even
 " his eternal power and godhead, so that they are
 " without excuse; because that when they knew God,
 " they glorified him not as God, neither were thank-
 " ful; but became vain in their imaginations, and
 " their foolish hearts were *darkened*. And even as
 " they

“ they did not like to retain God in their knowledge,
 “ God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do
 “ those things which are not convenient.¹”

These notable lines of that great apostle, give an apparent overthrow to all objections, against either the universality or sufficiency of the light within: which will farther appear, if the reader be but pleased to observe these few particulars. (1.) That in the gospel of Christ is the righteousness of God revealed, and that from faith to faith. (2.) That this faith the just have ever lived by; for he quotes a time past, “ As it is written:” which writing was above seven hundred years before he wrote that epistle. (3.) That many had degenerated from the righteousness of God, to wit, the Gentiles, into ungodliness, against which the wrath of God was revealed from heaven. (4.) That they, however, *once knew* the truth. (5.) That they came to the knowledge of this truth from the “ Manifestation of God (who is light) within,” since the apostle says, what “ might be known of God was “ manifested in them, because God had shewed it unto “ them.” (6.) That the cause of their after darkness, was their rebelling against that manifestation or light, not glorifying the God that shewed it to them, when they both saw it, and knew it was He that shewed them: consequently that God had given them light sufficient, both to know and obey him. And since they liked not to retain God in their knowledge, the deficiency was theirs, and not the light’s. (7.) If therefore their foolish hearts were darkened, (that is, by disobedience) it follows, that darkness came by sin into their hearts; and that they had light in their hearts, or a light within, to know their duty and square their lives by. (8.) Lastly, If the wrath was therefore revealed, because they held the truth in unrighteousness; and when they knew God, by the manifestation of *light within*, they glorified him not *as* God, but became vain in their imaginations, and their

¹ Rom. i. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 28.

foolish hearts were darkened; then certainly, had they kept to that enlightening principle we call TRUTH, and the manifestation of God *within*, and so preserved their faith in God, as he had revealed himself to them, glorifying him as God, and delighting to retain him in their knowledge; not wrath, but mercy and peace, had been revealed from heaven; as saith the same apostle in his following chapter, “To them, who by
“ patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory,
“ and honour, and immortality, eternal life.”^k”

In short, This we may safely conclude, that the righteousness revealed in the gospel of Christ (of which Paul was not ashamed) from faith to faith, (by which faith, he testifies, the just ancients lived, or were accepted) is one in nature, though not in degree, with that truth the Gentiles apostatized from, and therefore are said to have lived without faith, righteousness, or God in the world; for which the wrath was revealed. Whereas, had they lived up unto it, glorifying God *as* God, according to the manifestation of himself in their hearts and consciences, they would have had, not the revelation of wrath, but of the “Righteousness of faith,” by which the just in all ages have lived acceptably with God: for without faith no man can please God, in any age; as without holiness (that flows from true faith) no man shall ever see the Lord.

VII. And lastly, I do earnestly intreat the unprejudiced reader to observe these two notable passages, which, with my consideration of them, shall conclude the scripture-proofs I have urged for the universality of the light, and Spirit of God, antecedent to Christ’s appearance in the flesh.

“Then Peter opened his mouth, and said, Of a
“ truth, I perceive that God is no respecter of per-
“ sons; but in every nation, he that feareth him, and
“ worketh righteousness, is accepted with him. For

^k Rom. ii. vii.

“ not the hearers of the law are just before God, but
 “ the doers of the law shall be justified: for when the
 “ Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the
 “ things contained in the law, these having not the
 “ law, are a law unto themselves, which shew the
 “ work of the law written in their hearts; their con-
 “ sciences also bearing witness, and their thoughts
 “ the mean while accusing, or else excusing one an-
 “ other, in the day when God shall judge the secrets
 “ of men by Jesus Christ, according to my gospel.¹”

These scriptures are a severe check to all undervaluing apprehensions of the blessed light of God in man; and this appears in several particulars:

1. That God is no respecter of persons in any nation: from whence I conclude, that ‘ All persons and nations were and are lighted, as well Gentiles as Jews.’

2. That here are men (not of the circumcision made with hands) who fear God, work righteousness, and are doers of the law, not from the obligation of an outward law, for they had none, but the “ inward work of the law writ upon their hearts;” which is a demonstration that they had not only the light as a reprover, but as a teacher and leader, whereby they came to fear God, and work righteousness: which is elsewhere said to be the conclusion of the matter, and “ whole duty of man.^m” Since, then, no man that fears God, and works righteousness, and keeps the pure law of God in the heart, (which the scriptures testify some Gentiles did) can be said to do so, and yet be void of the true light, that objection of the heathen’s ignorance of the true God, and that none by the light within was ever reprov’d for not believing Jesus to be Christ, vanisheth of course. For such as lived up most sincerely to the Lord in their own consciences, acknowledged, most readily, the glorious appearance of light when in the flesh,

¹ Acts x. 34, 35. Rom. ii. 13, 14, 15, 16. ^m Eccles. xii. 13, 14.
 They

They were the great pretenders to scriptures that would not come to Christ; the traditional, literal, and ordinance-men, who also rejected and crucified him. On the other hand, had not Cornelius and the centurion, with many others, been upright livers to the light within, neither had Peter been so received by the one, nor Christ so followed by the other: but that measure of the divine light, which they had hitherto obeyed, as the "more sure word of prophecy," led them naturally to the rising of the "Day-star;" which, though a more glorious manifestation, yet not of another light, life, or spirit; for there are not *two* lights, lives, natures or spirits in God: he is *one* for ever in himself, and his light *one* in kind, however variously he may have declared himself, or manifested it at sundry times of the world: his truth is one, his way is one, and his rest one for ever.

But last of all, that which greatly rejoices good men is this, that the narrowness of some mens spirits in this world, will not be found able to exclude virtuous Gentiles from their reward in the other: but, maugre all the heat, petulancy, conceitedness, and fleshly boasting of carnal Christians, "such as fear God, and work righteousness, and are doers of the law written in the heart," we are assured shall be accepted and justified of God, in the day that he will judge the secrets of all men by Jesus Christ, according to Paul's gospel: and if any man bring another, let it be accursed. Amen.

I have here, on purpose, overlooked many very pregnant instances, both in the Old and New Testament-writings,* for brevity's sake, in which the righteousness of the Gentiles hath, in several cases, more evidently appeared, than that of some of the Jews, and which undeniably testifies to the sufficiency of the light within, both to manifest that which was good from that which was evil, and also to give ability to

* Gen. xx. 4. and xxi. 22. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 23. Ezra i. 2, 3, 4, 5, and vi. 3, 12. Dan. vi. 26, 27. Matt. ix. 18.

such as truly minded its illumination, whereby they were enabled to do the one, and to reject the other: such were Abimelech, Cyrus, Darius, the ruler that came to Christ, and many others, which I shall omit to mention more particularly; the chief bent of my mind being to demonstrate the truth of my assertion from their own writings.

C H A P. VII.

That the Gentiles believed in One God, that he enlightened all men with a saving light, that men ought to live piously, that the soul is immortal. That there is an eternal recompence; the whole called Gentile-divinity. The first point proved by sixteen testimonies.

HAVING proved briefly, though I hope fully and truly, from the scriptures, that the Gentiles in general were lighted with a divine light, I shall now make it my business to evidence the truth thereof, by most undeniable instances out of their own writings. And because I am willing my defence both of the light within, and those of them who obeyed it, should turn to the clearest and best account, I will endeavour to resolve the whole into as plain a method, as the matter, and their way of delivering it, will allow me.

First, then, from their own authorities I am taught to affirm, That the Gentiles believed in One holy, infinite and eternal God.

Secondly, That they did therefore so believe, because God had imprinted the knowledge of himself on their hearts; or, in our language, that he had lighted all mankind with a divine light, which, if obeyed, would lead to eternal happiness.

Thirdly, That they held and practised high sanctity of life.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, That they affirmed the immortality of the soul, and eternal rewards of felicity, or misery, according to man's obedience to, or rebellion against, the eternal God his Creator: which excellent principles, true and clear, being the result of their discourse on those subjects, do worthily deserve, in my esteem, the stile of divinity; which is the denomination, I hope I may, without offence, bestow upon them in this discourse.

That the Gentiles did acknowledge and believe there was but One Supreme Being, that made all things, who is infinite, almighty, omnipresent, holy and good for ever, I shall produce some of those many authorities that assert the same, and by divers scriptures underneath, of the like tendency, though of higher authority, shew their agreeableness to divine revelation, in which I have the practice of very ancient fathers of the church to justify me.

I. Orpheus, one thousand two hundred years before Christ, thus expresseth his belief of God: ' His hand
' reaches to the end of the sea, his right hand is every
' where, and the earth is under his feet. He is Only
' ONE, begot of himself, and of him alone are all
' things begot; and God is the FIRST and the
' LAST.' (a)

Hereby not only telling us, there was a God, but attributing to him almighty power and omnipresence; which shews he meant no statuary-deity, but God that made the heavens and the earth.

II. Hesiod, ' Of all which do not die, thou art
' King and Lord: none can contend with thee con-
' cerning thy power.' (b)

This

• Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5. p Ib. l. 5.

(a) " He stretcheth out his hand over the sea." Isa. xxiii. 11.—
" For the Lord your God, he is God in heaven above, and in the
" earth beneath." Josh. ii. 11. " I am alpha and omega, the
" beginning and the end, the first and the last." Rev. xxii. 13.

(b) " God is not the God of the dead, but of the living." Mat.
xxii. 32.—" The Lord is King for ever." Psal. x. 16. " A Great
" King

This emphatically proves God to have been but One, and Omnipotent, in their belief.

III. Thales, a very ancient Greek philosopher, tells us, 'That there is but One God; that he is glorious for ever and ever.' And he openly confesseth, 'That he is called *καρδιογνώστης*, HE WHO KNOWS HEARTS.'¹ (c)

Thales being demanded what God was, 'That,' saith he, 'which has NEITHER BEGINNING NOR END.'

Another asking, If a man might do ill, and conceal it from God? 'How,' saith he, 'when a man that THINKS it cannot?'

'Men ought to believe,' saith Cicero, in his name, 'that God sees all things.'

IV. Sibylla, 'There is One God, who alone is infinite, and without beginning.'² (d)

Again, 'Who can see with fleshly eyes the heavenly, true, and immortal God, whose seat is in the highest heavens?' (e)

This Sibyl is aged above two thousand years. The question implies her faith that God was a Spirit, as Christ himself also testifies.

V. Pythagoras, a modest, but diligent and retired man, in his search after heavenly things, saith, 'That

¹ Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5. ² Ib. l. 5.

"King above all gods." xcv. 3. "King of kings, and Lord of lords." 1 Tim. vi. 15. "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever." Psal. xlv. 6.

(c) "Glorious in holiness." Exod. xv. 4.—"God had glory before the world began." See John xvii. 5.—"I the Lord search the heart, I try the reins." Jer. xvii. 10.—"He declareth unto man his thoughts." Amos iv. 13.—"God is from everlasting to everlasting God." Psal. xc. 2.

(d) "Thou art God alone." Psal. lxxxvi. 10.—"Besides me there is no God." Isa. xlv. 6.—"There is but One God." 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.

(e) "No man has seen God at any time." 1 John iv. 12.—"Heaven is my throne," Acts vii. 49.—"The Lord's throne is in heaven." Psal. xi. 4.—"And hear thou in heaven thy dwelling-place." 1 Kings viii. 30.

6 it

‘ it is man’s duty to believe of the Divinity that it is;
 ‘ and that it is in such a manner, as to mankind, that
 ‘ it *overlooks* them, and neglects them not: for we
 ‘ have need of such a government, as we ought not
 ‘ in any thing to contradict; such as that which pro-
 ‘ ceeds from the Divinity: for the Divinity is such,
 ‘ that to it doth of right belong the dominion of all.’
 Again, ‘ God resembleth light and truth.’ In another
 place, ‘ God himself inhabits the lowest, and highest,
 ‘ and the middlemost; There is no being nor place
 ‘ without God.” (f)

‘ God is One: he is not, as some conceive, out of
 ‘ the world; but entire within himself, as in a com-
 ‘ plete circle, surveying all generations. He is the
 ‘ salt of all ages, the agent of his own powers and
 ‘ works; the principle of all things: One heavenly
 ‘ luminary or light, and Father of all things; only
 ‘ wise, invisible, yet intelligible.” (g)

Which very pathetical account of the Divine Being,
 so correspondent with scripture, yet he a stranger to it,
 (I mean the words only, for the matter, in this point,
 he weightily hits) deserves very serious consideration
 and acknowledgment from all, especially those who
 would not narrow God’s mercies to their own time or
 party.

• Jamblich. • Just. Mart.

(f) “ He that cometh to God, must believe that he is, and that
 “ he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.” Heb. xi. 6.
 —“ The eyes of the Lord run to and fro throughout the whole
 “ earth.” 2 Chron. xvi. 9.—“ God is Lord of heaven and earth.”
 Acts xvii. 24.—“ And the government shall be upon his shoulder.”
 Isa. ix. 6.—Again, “ God is light, and in him is no darkness at
 “ all.” 1 John i. 5.—“ I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life.”
 John xiv. 6.

(g) “ A God nigh at hand.” See Acts xvii. 27. Jer. xxiii.
 23.—“ One God, who is above all, through all, and in you all.”
 Ephes. iv. 6.—“ God is light; and upon whom doth not his light
 “ arise?” 1 John i. 5. Job xxv. 3.—“ One God and Father of
 “ all.” Ephes. iv. 6.—“ Now to the King Eternal, Immortal,
 “ invisible, the only Wise God, be glory,” &c. 1 Tim. i. 17.

VI. To

VI. To the same purpose speaks Heraclitus, that sensibly-afflicted philosopher for the world's impieties and idolatries; whose very sorrowful, yet sound and smart expressions, shew they came from a mind deeply touched. In one of his epistles to Hermodorus, his friend, he thus seemeth, after a while, to address himself to Euticles, and the rest of his enemies, that impeached him for being an enemy to their stony gods: ' Thus I shall be condemned of impiety by the im-
' pious. What thinkest thou? Shall I seem impious
' to them for dissenting from their gods? If blind men
' were to judge of sight, they would say blindness
' were sight: but O ye ignorant men, teach, us first,
' what God is; that when ye declare us to be im-
' pious, you may be believed. Where is God? Shut
' up in temples? O pious men! who place God in the
' dark! You ignorant people! Know you not that God
' is not made with hands?' (b)

This is a most clear and ample testimony against their idols; mixed with a religious derision; yet qualified by a kind of lamentation. Surely Heraclitus believed in God, yea, and that he was LIGHT too, and such an one as should never set; by whom he elsewhere says, ' He had overcome the enemies of his
' soul.'

VII. Anaxagoras, esteemed noble by birth, but more noble for his knowledge and virtue, who was master to Socrates, taught thus concerning God;..
' That God is an infinite self-moving Mind: that this
' Divine Infinite Mind is the efficient cause of all
' things; every thing being made according to its
' species by the Divine Mind; who, when all things

• Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 2.

(b) The heaven of heavens cannot contain thee." 1 Kings viii. 27. 2 Chron. vi. 18.—"What house will ye build me?" Acts vii. 49.—"God dwells in the light." 1 Tim. vi. 16.—"To whom will ye liken God? What likeness will ye compare unto him." Isa. xl. 18.—"God is a Spirit." John iv. 24.

• were

‘ were confusedly mingled together, came and reduced them to ORDER.”’ (i)

Which doubtless is so true, that Anaxagoras had no small share of true light, to give this account of both God and the creation. And indeed, his memory was celebrated by the Greeks, for having very much improved their understanding concerning God and immortality.

VIII. Socrates, That good heathen, if, without offence to the professors of Christianity, I may say so, not only confesseth to ONE GOD, but, I am of opinion, they will think he gives good reason why he doth so. He lays down, ‘ That the Mind,’ a name which they frequently called God by, ‘ is the disposer ‘ and cause of all things.’ Or, in other words of his, thus, ‘ God is ONE, Τὸ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ ἕκαστον, ἕκαστον αὐτῷ, τὸ καλὸν ‘ αὐτῷ, τὸ ζῶντος ἔιδος, Perfect in himself, giving the being and well-being of every creature.”’ (k)

And

“ Laët. Fals. Rel. 1. 5. Cic. de Nat. Deor. 1. Aug. de Civ. Dei. lib. 8. . * Plat. Phæd.

(i) “ But to us there is but One God, the Father, of whom are “ all things.” 1 Cor. viii. 6.—“ Where wast thou when I laid the “ foundation of the earth?” Job xxxviii. 4.—“ And the earth “ was without form.” Read the chapter, in which is declared, God’s making and beautifying heaven and earth, and all living creatures therein. Gen. i. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and so to the end.—“ Thou, Lord, madest the heavens, and the earth, “ and all that in them is.” Acts iv. 24.

(k) These notable arguments, urged for the proof of a Divine super-intelligent Being, and his creation and providence, may well agree with those pathetic expressions of Job, the Psalmist, and several prophets, evangelists, and apostles, concerning God’s creating the world, and upholding it to this day; his laying the foundations thereof; his providence over the lilies and the sparrows; his bringing forth fruits in due season; his lights by day and by night; that the disciples should take no thought what they should eat and drink, or put on; that there is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty gives understanding: and lastly, “ Can any hide himself “ in secret places that I shall not see him, saith the Lord?” Jer. xxiii. 24.—No; “ If I take the wings of the morning, and flee to “ the uttermost part of the earth, thou art there.” Psal. cxxxix. 9.—“ And by me kings reign, and princes decree justice,” saith God.

And this he giveth his reasons for: ‘ That God, not
 ‘ *chance*, made the world, and all creatures, is de-
 ‘ monstrable from the reasonable disposition of their
 ‘ parts, as well for use as defence; from their care to
 ‘ preserve themselves, and continue their species: that
 ‘ he particularly regards man: in his body, from the
 ‘ excellent upright form thereof, from the gift of
 ‘ speech, from *Τὰς τῶν ἀποδείξεων ἡδὲς οὐρανόθεν κατέχουσι*.
 ‘ In his soul, from the excellency thereof above others,
 ‘ both for divinations, and predicting dangers: that
 ‘ he regards particulars, from his care of the whole
 ‘ species: that he will reward such as please him, and
 ‘ punish such as displease him, from his power to do
 ‘ it, and from the belief he hath imprinted in man
 ‘ that he will do it; professed by the most wise and
 ‘ civilized cities and ages: that he at once seeth all
 ‘ things, from the instances of his eye, which at once
 ‘ over-runs many miles; and of the mind, which at
 ‘ once considereth things done in the most distant
 ‘ places.’ That God knoweth all things, whether they
 ‘ be said, done, or secretly desired. That God takes
 ‘ care of all creatures, is demonstrable from the bene-
 ‘ fits he gives them, of light, water, and fire, reason-
 ‘ able production of fruits of the earth: that he hath
 ‘ particular care of man, from the nourishment of all
 ‘ plants and creatures for man’s service; from their
 ‘ subjection to man, though they exceed him ever
 ‘ so much in strength; from the variety of man’s
 ‘ sense, accommodated to the variety of objects, for
 ‘ necessity, use and pleasure; from reason, whereby
 ‘ he discourses, through reminiscence, from sensible
 ‘ objects; from speech, whereby he communicates all

’ Xen. memor. 1.

Prov. viii. 15.—“ And is every where.” Josh. ii. 11.—“ And or-
 ‘ ders all.” Wisd. xi. 20.—“ There is but One God, and none
 ‘ else besides him.” Eph. iv. 6.—“ In the beginning God created
 ‘ the heaven and the earth.” Gen. i. 1, 2, 3.—“ In him we live,
 ‘ move, and have our being.” Acts xvii. 21.—Thus he sees and
 hears all, and is every where. Psal. xxxiv. 9, 10, 11.

that

‘ that he knows, gives laws, and governs states.’
 ‘ That God, notwithstanding he is invisible, hath a
 ‘ being; from the instances of his ministers, invisible
 ‘ also, as thunder and wind; and from the soul of
 ‘ man, which hath something with, or partakes of
 ‘ the divine nature, in governing those that cannot see
 ‘ it. Finally, that he is such, and so great, as that
 ‘ he at once sees all, hears all, is every where, and
 ‘ orders all.’

So that here we have Socrates’s faith in God, and his reasons for it, drawn from the outward creation, and the inward divine sense, which he had from divine instinct, or nature, in him; in which he lived, and for which he willingly died, as afterwards will be related.

IX. Timæus Locrus, in his “Work of Nature,” thus argumentatively expresseth himself of God: ‘ One
 ‘ principle of all is unbegotten. For if it was begot-
 ‘ ten, then were it no more that principle; but that
 ‘ of which it were begotten would be the princi-
 ‘ ple. (l)

Suitable to this faith Clemens Alexandrinus; name-ly, “Hear, O Israel: the Lord, thy God, is ONE;
 “and him only shalt thou serve.”^b”

Thus did he endeavour to refute the Gentiles, and prove the scriptures out of their own writings. But again,

Timæus affirms, ‘ That God is; and that he is a
 ‘ Spirit; and that he is the author of all light.’ Which how sober and true it is, let the scriptures here inserted testify. (m)

^a Xen. memor. 1. ^a Id. 4. ^b Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5. 2 Kings
 xix. 19. Mark xii. 32. 1 Tim. ii. 5. De Anim. Mund.

(l) “In the beginning was the Word; and the Word was with
 “God, and the Word was God: all things were made by him,”
 &c. John i. 1, 2, 3, 4.

(m) “God is a spirit.” John iv. 24.—“God said, Let there
 “be light, and there was light.” Gen. i. 3.—“He is the Father
 “of lights.” James i. 17.

X. Antisthenes, one of Socrates's school, as it were by way of paraphrase upon that saying, "Whom have ye likened me unto? saith the Lord;" thus speaks: 'He is like none; because no man can know him from a LIKENESS, OR IMAGE.' (n)

By which we may perceive he did not believe him to be an image, 'who could not be known by an image,' nor any thing that could be seen with carnal eyes: a step beyond the Romanists, that teach, as they darkly fancy, by images.

XI. Plato, the famous doctor of gentile-divinity, scholar to Socrates, whom the Greeks, for his heavenly contemplation and pious life, surnamed divine, gives us his faith of God in these words; 'God is first, eternal, ineffable, perfect in himself; that is, needing none; and ever perfect, that is, absolute in all times; and every way perfect, that is, absolute in every part, divinity, essence, truth, harmony, good. Neither do we so name these to distinguish one from the other, but rather by them all to understand ONE. He is said to be good, because he bestows his benefits upon all, according to their several capacities, and so is the cause of all good: FAIR, OR BEAUTIFUL, because he is, in essence, both more, better, and equal: TRUTH, because he is the principle of all truth, as the sun is of all light.' (o)

'Moreover; God, not having any parts, can neither be locally moved, nor altered by qualities: for if he be altered, it must be done by himself, or

' Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5.

(n) That thou mayest know, that there is none like me in all the earth," saith God. Exod. ix. 14. and viii. 10.—"Who in heaven can be compared unto the Lord? Who among the sons of the mighty can be likened unto the Lord?" Psal. lxxxix. 6.

(o) I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last." Rev. xxii. 13.—"The everlasting God." Isa. xl.—"The way of the Lord is perfect." Psal. xviii. 30.—"He is a rock; his work is perfect; for all his ways are judgment; a God of truth, and without iniquity, just and right is he." Deut. xxxii. 4.—"For I am the Lord." Isa. xlv. 5.—"I change not" Mal. iii. 6.

' some

‘ some other: if by some other, that other must be
 ‘ of greater power than he: if by himself, it must be
 ‘ either to better, or to worse: both which are absurd.’

From all these it follows, That God is incorporeal;
 and by all which it is as evident, how true, how rea-
 sonable, and how firm a belief Plato had of One
 Eternal Being and Father of all.

XII. And Lyricus Menalippides, praying, saith,
 ‘ Hear me, O Father, thou Wonder of men, who
 ‘ always governeſt the living ſoul.’^a

This plainly preaches to us their belief of One Eter-
 nal God, and his excellent attributes.

XIII. Parmenides Magnus, as ſaith Plato in So-
 phiſta, writes concerning God on this wiſe; ‘ He is
 ‘ not begotten; neither is he liable to any death:
 ‘ like a chain, whoſe links are whole and round, and
 ‘ always firm, and void of a beginning.’^c (p)

What was this chain, but the Eternal God, by
 whom all things were made? “ The Firſt and the
 “ Laſt.”

XIV. Zeno, a grave and wiſe philoſopher, who in-
 ſtituted the way of the Stoicks, but not of virtue:
 for both the Cynicks and Stoicks, moſtly teaching
 ſuch doctrine as tend to good life, may well be ſaid
 to have been the followers of Socrates, the excellent
 man of his time; only they a little differenced them-
 ſelves by ſome particular ſeverities, too affected, to
 which the mild, ſerious, and unaffected piety of So-
 crates gave them no encouragement; though none of
 them trod in a more ſelf-denying path, than hiſtory
 tells us he walked in. This Zeno, and his diſciples,
 were vigorous aſſertors of one infinite and eternal God,
 as by their doctrines may appear.

^a Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5. Exod. xv. 11. Pſal. cxxxvi. 4, 5, 6.

^c Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5.

(p) “ Thy throne is eſtabliſhed of old, thou art from everlaſt-
 “ ing.” Pſal. xciii. 2.—“ In the Lord Jehovah is everlaſting
 “ ſtrength.” Iſa. xxvi. 4.

Zeno tells us, ‘ That God is an immortal being
 ‘ rational, perfect, or intellectual in beatitude ;
 ‘ of all evil ; provident over the world, and thing
 ‘ the world ; not of human form, MAKER OF ALL
 ‘ it were FATHER of ALL.’ Again ; ‘ God, and
 ‘ power of God, is such, as that it governs, but is
 ‘ governed. It governeth all things ; so that if t
 ‘ were any thing more excellent, he could not poss
 ‘ be God.’ (q)

This was Zeno’s faith of God : and I cannot
 believe that the worst of our antagonists has so far ad
 doned all reason, as to call it false, or idolatry.
 That he taught it, as well as thought it, let us l
 some of his followers.

XV. Chrysippus also avers, as his belief of a G
 ‘ That the world was made by him ;’ consequently
 believed there was one : ‘ For if,’ saith he, ‘ there
 ‘ any thing which can procreate such beings, as n
 ‘ endued with reason is unable to produce, that, dou
 ‘ less, must needs be stronger, and greater, and wi
 ‘ than man : but man cannot make the celestial thing
 ‘ therefore that which made them, transcended m
 ‘ in art, counsel, prudence, and power : and what c
 ‘ that be but God ?’ (r)

Thus far Chrysippus, the Stoick, in reference
 God. But again,

‘ Laert. * Laert. de Irâ Dei, 6, 10.

(q) “ Now to the King Eternal, Immortal, Invisible, the On
 “ Wise God, be honour and glory for ever.” 1 Tim. i. 17.
 “ The rich and poor meet together ; the Lord is the maker of the
 “ all.” Prov. xxii. 2.—“ Come now, let us reason together, said
 “ the Lord.” Isa. i. 18.—“ Be ye holy, for I the Lord your God
 “ am holy.” Levit. xi. 44.—“ One God and Father of all, of
 “ whom are all things.” Eph. iv. 6. 1 Cor. vi. 8, 6.—“ Who
 “ is a God like unto thee ?” Exod. xv. 11.—“ The Almighty
 “ excellent in power.” Job xxxvii. 23.—“ And his kingdom ruleth
 “ over all.” Psal. ciii. 19.

(r) “ Lord, thou art God, which hast made
 “ all that in them is.” 24.—“ God
 Psal. xc. 2.—“ All unto God
 “ bucket, and the ce.”

XVI. Antipater, a famous, serious, and acute Stoick, in his discourse of God and the world, declares himself to us after this manner: ‘ We understand that
 ‘ which we call God, a Spirit full of intelligence or
 ‘ wisdom; a living nature, or divine substance; blef-
 ‘ sed and incorruptible; doing good to mankind;
 ‘ PRESENT through the whole world; receiving several
 ‘ denominations from the diversity of his appearances,
 ‘ and the various operations and effects of his divine
 ‘ power shewn therein.^b’ (s)

Which kind of evangelical definition may very well induce us to believe him to have been, at least, of those who knew God; but we hope, not of those, who, when they knew him, “ glorified him not as “ God.”

Indeed, what we have hitherto produced of them all, may worthily be accounted divinity; and not the worse for being gentile, since God is also therein to admired. So forcible, so true, and so conspicuous are their assertions, and their reasons for them, that they who will yet believe ‘ there was not a measure of the
 ‘ eternal fulness of all divine light shining in the
 ‘ hearts of these heathens, to give them some know-
 ‘ ledge of the glory of the only true and invisible
 ‘ God,’ must not think it strange, if, upon their example of incredulity, after all their protestations for, and professions of, the Christian religion, any should believe them to be arrant Pharisees, and that they are overcast with the darkest clouds of envy and uncharitableness. For my part, I am of the mind that many thousands of Christians, at least so reputed, (I mean not of the rabble neither) believe not God so clearly,

^b Plut. Antip. de Mund. l. 7.

(s) “ God is a Spirit.” John iv. 24.—“ In whom are hid all
 “ the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.” Col. ii. 3.—“ Of
 “ the incorruptible God.” Rom. i. 23.—“ The Lord is good to
 “ all, and his tender mercies are over all his works.” Psal. cxlv.
 9.—“ God is not far away from every one of us.” Acts xvii. 27.

nor are able to give better reasons for what they do believe of him, than these exhibited in this first part of the gentile-divinity.

Thus much concerning God, with respect to himself, his creation, and providence.

C H A P. VIII.

The second fundamental of gentile-divinity, viz. ‘ That God hath imprinted the knowledge of himself on the minds of all mankind;’ proved from twelve pregnant testimonies, as well of whole societies, as particular persons; and compared with scripture.

IT will be now requisite that I give an account of their belief in God, with respect to that discovery he is pleased to give of himself unto mankind, how, and where; which amounts to what is laid down in my second assertion, viz. ‘ That God imprinteth the knowledge of himself in the minds of mankind;’ or, ‘ That God’s way of manifesting himself to mankind is, by enlightening the soul with his own divine light, which, being obeyed, leads to blessedness.’

That this was their doctrine, and the ground of their knowledge they had of God, be pleased to weigh these their following very plain, yet very weighty expressions.

I. ‘ The mind only,’ saith Pythagoras, and his disciples, ‘ seeth the eternal God, the Ruler and Father of all things.—What greater pleasure than to behold the serene aspect of God?—What things are agreeable to God, cannot be known, unless a man HEAR GOD HIMSELF.’¹ (a) They mutually exhorted one another,

¹ Tim. de Anim. Mund. Jamblich.

(a) “ The pure in heart shall see God,” Mat. 7. 8.—“ He dwelleth in immortality; no mortal eye can approach or behold him.”

another, 'not to divide afunder the GOD THAT WAS
' IN THEM; for that it ought to be their care to pre-
' serve their union with God, and one with another.'^k
Again, saith Timæus, one of the exactest of that school,
' The most excellent thing the soul is awakened to
' is, her GUIDE or GOOD GENIUS (that is, a measure
' of the divine light and spirit) but if she be rebel-
' lious to it, it will prove her dæmon or tormentor.'^l
' But having overcome these things,' saith Pythagoras,
' (to wit, evils) thou shalt know Σύσσις, the co-habi-
' tation or dwelling together of the IMMORTAL GOD
' and mortal men, whose work is life; the work of
' God is immortality, eternal life.'

Thus far the Pythagoreans, and certainly far enough
to prove the assertion; for next to hearing and seeing
God himself, his dwelling and tabernacling with men,
what is there of greater spiritual intimacy or union?
O the folly and great uncharitableness of those profes-
sors of Christianity, that exclude both such men, and
such knowledge, the kingdom of God, because it is
not delivered in absolute scripture phrase, whilst it
imports much of the very subject of them, as to divine
vision, union with God, and eternal life! I wish they
do not take imagination for knowledge, and presump-
tion for enjoyment. But to go on,

II. Hieron, that ancient philosopher, entitled the
universal light shining in the conscience, which ever
witnessed, by its reproof, against evil, and, if obeyed,

^k Jambl. ^l De Anim. Mund.

"him." 1 Tim. vi. 16.—"One thing have I desired of thee, O
"Lord, to behold the beauty of the Lord." Psal. xxvii. 4.—
"The things of God knows no man, but the Spirit of God, but
"God hath revealed them to us, by his Spirit." 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11.
—"I will dwell in them." 2 Cor. vi. 16.—"Is Christ divided?"
1 Cor. i. 13.—"And I heard a great voice, saying, The taberna-
"cle of God is with men. He that overcometh, shall inherit all
"things: I will be his God, and he shall be my son." Rev. xxi.
iii. 7.

led man to immortality, ‘ A DOMESTICK GOD, or GOD
‘ WITHIN the hearts and souls of men.’ (b)

‘ The eternal mind is God, MANIFESTING HIMSELF
‘ in every PARTICULAR of us.’ God is that which in
mortal men gives them to know aright concerning
God.

Certainly these Gentiles had a high veneration for
that light which manifested darkness, who made it
their *rule*, their *guide*, their *domestick* God: they set
him not at a distance without them; but believed in
him as God the WORD, speaking to them in their own
CONSCIENCES. In which respect, the minor poets no-
tably expressed themselves.

III. Byas, prince of his country, Priene, being in-
vaded by enemies, and several of the inhabitants put
to flight, with their greatest wealth; being asked, why
he also carried not his choicest goods with him? An-
swered, ‘ I do carry my GOODS with me.’ (c) ‘ He
‘ bore them,’ saith Valerius Maximus, ‘ in his breast,
‘ not to be seen by the eye, but prized by the soul,
‘ inclosed in the narrow dwelling of the mind, not
‘ to be demolished by mortal hands; which is always
‘ present with those who stay, and never deserteth or
‘ forsaketh those that flee.’^m

^m Valer. Max. 7, 2.

(b) “ In the beginning was the Word; and the Word was with
“ God, and the Word was God.” John . 1.—“ The Word is
“ nigh thee, in thy heart, and in thy mouth.” Rom. x. 8.—“ I
“ dwell in the high and holy place; with him also that is of a
“ contrite and humble spirit.” Isa. lvii. 15.—“ Ye are the tem-
“ ples of God; and that the Spirit of God dwells in you?” 2 Cor.
vi. 16.—“ Whatever may be known of God is manifested within;
“ for God hath shewed it unto them.” Rom. i. 19.

(c) “ Lay up treasure in heaven, where neither moth nor rust can
“ corrupt, nor thief break through and steal.” Mat. vi. 20.—
“ This treasure have we in earthen vessels.” 2 Cor. iv. 7.—“ Fear
“ not, for the Lord thy God it is that doth go with thee; he will
“ not fail thee, nor forsake thee.” Deut. xxxi. 6.—“ In all their
“ afflictions he was afflicted.” Isa. lxiii. 9.—“ The Lord is a
“ present help in the time of trouble.” Psal. xli. 1.

Cer-

Certainly then, they thought this divine principle the greatest treasure, the surest companion, the best comforter, and only sanctuary of the soul in the greatest extremities, enduing it with piety and patience, and giving that contentment, which was able to wade through the deepest calamities.

IV. Sophocles is also of that number that bears testimony to divine illumination. ‘God grant,’ saith he, ‘that I may always be so happy as to observe that
‘venerable sanctity in my words and deeds, which is
‘commanded by these noble laws (speaking of the
‘laws written in mens *consciences*) which were made
‘in heaven: God is their Father, not mortal nature;
‘neither shall they ever be forgotten or abrogated;
‘for there is in them a Great God, that never waxeth
‘old.’” (*d*)

‘This is,’ saith he again, ‘with respect to man’s
‘conscience, a divine, a sacred good, God the *over-*
‘*seer*.’

Certainly in themselves very seraphick sayings, shewing a clear faith of God, and that way of *inward* discovery he is pleased to make of himself to mankind. For it was he that said, ‘Truly there is but
‘One only God, who, made the heavens and the
‘earth.’”

V. It is frequently said of Socrates, ‘He had the
‘guide of his life within him; which, it was told his
‘father Sophroniscus, should be of more worth to
‘him than five hundred masters. He called it his
‘*good angel* or *spirit*: that it suggested to his mind
‘what was good and virtuous, and inclined and dis-
‘posed him to a strict and pious life: that it fur-

^a Oedip. Tyr. • Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 5.

(*d*) “Shall not the uncircumcision that is by nature, if it fulfil
“the law, judge thee, who by the letter and circumcision dost
“transgress the law? For he is not a Jew that is one outward;”
(implying such as keep the law is an inward Jew). Rom. ii. 27, 28.
“But the Word of God (nigh in the heart) shall abide for ever.”
Isa. lx. 8.

‘nished

‘ nished him with divine knowledge, and very often
 ‘ impulsed or *moved him to preach* (though in the
 ‘ streets) *to the people*, sometimes in a way of severe
 ‘ reproof, at other times to information; and other-
 ‘ wise gently to dissuade them from intemperance, and
 ‘ vanity of life, particularly from seeing of plays;
 ‘ and to exhort them to repentance, reformation, and
 ‘ self-denial, in hopes of immortality.’ (e)

VI. Plato is not wanting to bring in his vote, for farther confirmation of our assertion on the behalf of the Gentiles: ‘ The LIGHT and SPIRIT of GOD,’ saith he, ‘ are as wings to the soul, or as that which raiseth
 ‘ up the soul into a sensible communion with God
 ‘ above the world, which the mind of man is prone
 ‘ to slug or bemire itself withal.’ (f) And adds Plotin, a famous Platonist, ‘ God is the very ROOT or
 ‘ LIFE of the soul.’ (g) Again, ‘ Man hath a divine
 ‘ principle in him, which maketh the true and good
 ‘ man.’ And the Platonists in general held three principles to be in man; the first they called *Nũs*,

2 Plutarch. de Gent. Soer.

1 In Phæd.

(e) “ There is a spirit in man; but the inspiration of the Almighty giveth understanding.” Job xxxii. 8.—“ For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God.” Rom: viii. 14.

(f) “ God is light.” 1 John i. 5.—“ In thy light shall we see light.” Psal. xxxvi. 9.—“ God is not far from every one of us; for in him we live, move, and have our being; for we are also his offspring, as certain of your own poets have said.” Acts xvii. 27, 28.—One of whom was Aratus, whom the apostle quotes as speaking truth, and employs it against them, to prove a true God, and to introduce his gospel; which, if it shewed their apostacy, it also implies, that there had been heathens rightly apprehending of God; else surely the apostle would never have cited the poet’s saying for a confirmation of his own doctrine.

(g) “ Without me ye can do nothing. The Spirit of truth shall lead you into all truth.” John xvi. 13:—“ For the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared unto all men, teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we live soberly, and righteously, and godly in this present world.” Tit. ii. 11, 12.—“ God hath shewn unto thee, O man, what is good.” Micah, vi. 8.

MIND,

MIND, INTELLECT, SPIRIT, or divine LIGHT. The second *Ψυχὴ*, the *soul* of man. The third they called *Εἰσμάχον ψυχῆς*, the soul's *image*, which, say they, is her *vital energy* upon the body, and the *feminine* faculty of the soul.^r

By all which it is evident, though I could produce many more testimonies from their writings, that they believed and held divine illumination and inspiration; and that such a principle resided in man, even the eternal Νῆς, or MIND; which is to say, in plain English, GOD HIMSELF; by which alone the soul could become what God would have it be.

VII. Cleanthes, the Stoick, ‘alloweth not mankind to be governed of right by the dictates of their own nature, which barely renders them men; but by that divine, infinite, and eternal nature, which is God *universally diffused or sown through the whole race of man*, as the most sure and infallible guide and rule.’ ‘To live,’ saith he, ‘according to this knowledge and direction, is truly to live according to virtue; not doing any thing that is forbidden. The virtue and happiness of a man depends upon the close correspondence of his mind with the divine will of HIM who governeth the universe.’

Again, saith the same Cleanthes, ‘The knowledge of God is imprinted upon the minds of men.’ (b)

VIII. Menander, signifying God to be good, saith, ‘Every man hath a good dæmon as soon as he is born, an holy instructor in governing of the life; as that I may confess him to be an evil dæmon, who hurts the life of a good man.’ Then he subjoins, ‘That a good God is in all; that God is perfectly good, and that he is good in all.’ (i) Again, on

^r *Æneid.* 1. cap. 1. ^r *Clem. Alex. Strom.* L. 5.

(b) “Which shew the works of the law writ in their hearts.” *Rom.* ii. 15.

(i) “A manifestation of the spirit is given unto every one to profit withal.” *1 Cor.* xii. 7.—“One God, and Father of all, who is above all, and through all.—The Lord is good unto all.” *Psal.* cxlv. 9.

another

another occasion, he saith, ‘ God, who is always *near*,
 ‘ sees this, for God is not a God afar off.’

IX. Philo, though a Jew born, yet a very serious and refined philosopher, gives us his judgment in this particular, very positively, and to purpose; ‘ How
 ‘ should the soul of man,’ saith he, ‘ know God, if
 ‘ he did not inspire her, and take hold of her by his
 ‘ divine power?’” (*k*)

Again, ‘ That the divine reason we have from God
 ‘ is an infallible law; not a moral rule given by this
 ‘ or that mortal; no lifeless precepts written in pa-
 ‘ pers, or upon pillars, but immortal, being engraven
 ‘ by the eternal nature in the minds of men.’

This is an undeniable testimony to the law written in the heart, as a more excellent dispensation than that which is written in paper, or engraven on pillars. But farther,

X. Nor is Plutarch wanting to the proof of this assertion on behalf of the gentile-divinity; who thus delivers himself, speaking of the principle of God in the conscience: ‘ It is a law,’ saith he, ‘ not written
 ‘ in tables or books, but dwelling in the mind always,
 ‘ as a living rule, which never permits the soul to be
 ‘ destitute of an interior guide.’ Again, ‘ To debase
 ‘ this ancient faith of mankind, and natural belief,
 ‘ which is planted in all reasonable souls, is to over-
 ‘ throw the strong and everlasting foundation of vir-
 ‘ tue.”” (*l*)

He is doubtless very zealous and sensible, on the behalf of an inward divine principle.

‘ Leg. Alleg. l. 1. * Plut. Dion. Prof.

(*k*) “ The things of God knoweth no man, save the Spirit of
 “ God.” 1 Cor. ii. 11.—“ I will put my law in their minds, and
 “ write them in their inward parts; I will be their God, and they
 “ shall be my people.” Heb. viii. 10, 11,

(*l*) “ Because whatever may be known of God is manifest within;
 “ for God hath shewed it unto them: But because they liked not to
 “ retain God in their knowledge, God gave them up to vile affec-
 “ tions,” Rom. i. 19, 26, 28.

XI. But

XI. But be pleased to hear what Epictetus says in this matter, who was admired for his great virtue and living, and whose memory is preserved in great respect among many who would think themselves much wronged if they should not be accounted Christians: ‘When you have shut your gates,’ saith he, ‘and made it all dark within; that is to say, are retired to your own dwelling, as alone; do not say that you are alone, for you are not alone, but God is within: what need have you of outward light to discover what is done, or to light to good actions, who have God, or that genius, or divine principle for your light?’^(m) as the following words do farther import.

But above all the Gentiles that have been mentioned, I mean in point of plain and positive expressions, (for I will prefer the life of none before that self-denying martyr Socrates) let us hear with great attention what kind of lecture Seneca will read us upon the subject handled; truly something very weighty.

XII. ‘The multitude,’ saith Seneca, ‘is the worst argument. Let us enquire what is *best* to be done, not what most *usually* is done; and that may settle us in the possession of everlasting happiness, not what is allotted by the vulgar, the worst interpreter of truth. I have,’ saith he, ‘a clearer and more certain light, by which I may judge the truth from falsehood: that which appertains to the felicity of the soul; the ETERNAL MIND will direct to.’⁽ⁿ⁾ That was the light within, doubtless, Seneca meant. Again,

^m Dis. lib. 1. cap. 14. ⁿ Senec. Ep. 41.

(m) “O Lord, thou hast searched me, thou understandest my thoughts afar off; whither shall I go from thy Spirit?” Psal. cxxxix. 1, 2, 7.

(n) “We have a more sure word of prophecy. 2 Pet. i. 19.—“The Lord hath shewed unto thee, O man, what is good, and what he doth require of thee.” Micah vi. 8.—“In him we live, move, and have our being.” Acts xvii. 28.—“Such as men sow, such shall they reap.” Gal. vi. 7.—“That was the true light, which enlighteneth all mankind.” John i. 9.

‘It

‘ It is a foolish thing for thee to wish what by thee
 ‘ cannot be obtained. God is *near* thee, and he is *in*
 ‘ thee. The holy spirit sits or resides *within* us, the
 ‘ observer of our good and evil actions: as he is dealt
 ‘ with *by* us, he deals *with* us.’ But yet farther, ‘ We
 ‘ have this great gift,’ saith Seneca, ‘ That VIRTUE
 ‘ (meaning the principle, or God) hath sent her
 ‘ LIGHT before into the MINDS of ALL; for even they
 ‘ that *follow* her not, *see* her.’” Where observe, reader,
 how he confesseth to the universality of the light, yet lays
 the fault of rebellion against it, not upon the light,
 (as do our enemies) but upon such as refuse to follow
 it; implying their voluntary rejection of its heavenly
 discoveries. Again, ‘ Wonderest thou that men go to
 ‘ God? God comes unto *men*: nay, which is more
 ‘ near, he cometh INTO man; and he makes the heart
 ‘ of every good man his habitation.’ Yet again hear
 him; ‘ Nothing is closed from God; he is *within* our
 ‘ souls, and he cometh into the midst of our thoughts.”
 And lastly, ‘ Every man,’ saith he, ‘ has GOD, indued
 ‘ with that, which if he forsake it not, he shall arise
 ‘ LIKE God.” (o)

How much more weighty, O sober and impartial
 reader, are these inward doctrines of the virtuous Gen-
 tiles, than the vehement clamours, and uncharitable
 exclamations of empty Christians against them? who
 seem as if they were afraid of nothing more than in-
 herent holiness, though of Christ’s working: reputed
 it a kind of undervaluing of his blood, to feel the in-
 ward benefit of it; accounting us the greatest here-
 ticks for assenting to the greatest truth, to wit, the
 sufficiency of his universal light in the hearts of men
 to salvation; challenging us to prove it by scripture,

z De Benef. c. 17. * Epist. 73. Id. 83. Id. 31.

(o) “ Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men.” Rev. xxi. 3.
 —“ He that declareth unto man his thoughts, the Lord, the God
 “ of Hosts, is his name.” Amos iv. 13.—“ While ye have the
 “ light, walk in the light, that ye may be the children of the light.
 “ God is light.” John xii. 36.—1 John i. 5.

or

or any credible history, and objecting the heathens ignorance and idolatry against the truth of its discoveries and efficacy of its power; which the very Gentiles defend us against, and confirm the universality and power of it.

C H A P. IX.

That this was not only the doctrine and faith of the Gentiles, but the very primitive doctors or fathers both so held, and so expressed themselves. Eight testimonies produced for proof thereof.

BUT as I have hitherto shewn, both that the Gentiles believed in One God, and had a very clear apprehension of the light or divine principle placed in man, from which all heavenly knowledge is derived; and that this divine light, or spirit, or principle, was by them asserted to be the most certain guide, and infallible rule of faith and practice; and farther, that the scriptures produced do abundantly verify their doctrines; so to the end the angry men I have mentioned should not count it a profaning of holy writ, or think I am the only man that ever had that favourable apprehension of these gentile-doctrines, I am willing to instance some of the most primitive and approved fathers of the Christian church; and by a short view of what they believed in reference to the present subject, with their way of phrasing such belief, we may the more clearly perceive how far those Gentiles are by them reprehensible, either with respect to their soundness in judgment, or expression; that, if it be possible, we may solve their objection against the universality and sufficiency of this blessed light.

I. Justinus Martyr,^b whom I therefore choose to begin with, because from a learned philosopher becoming an honest Christian, and constant martyr (from

^b Lived after Christ, anno 123.

Gentiles of his time, I suppose, he may make use of no less than two hundred and fifty) he doth frequently attest the truth of the doctrine of the ‘ Divine light ‘ in man,’ as man’s concomitant to all good works; as one passage eminently proves. ‘ I earnestly,’ says he, ‘ exhort thee, because I would have thee saved, ‘ and that would Christ also, who offers thee life in ‘ one word. But thou mayest say, What is it? It is ‘ the word of TRUTH, the incorruptible word, which ‘ regenerates mankind, and leads him again to TRUTH; ‘ the spur that pricketh on to salvation, who expelleth ‘ destruction, chafeth away death, and hath built a ‘ temple in mankind, that it may place GOD in ‘ man.’^s

I know not any of the ancients that was more profoundly read in the doctrines of the Gentiles, than this Clemens Alexandrinus: and who, to prove the verity of the Christian religion against them, doth frequently cite and insert the writings of the more venerable of them, and, with the very books of their admired ancestors, accurately argue the unreasonableness of their opposition to Christianity, the very top of virtue, and perfection of goodness: as did Christ, to prove himself the true Messiah, urge the scriptures to those (pretended great) believers in them, as an aggravation of their incredulity.

III. Tertullian,^h than whom there was not any more sharp against the dissolute Gentiles of his time (as his most quaint Apology for the Christians, and in it his severe charge against their enemies, doth particularly shew) thinks it to be neither heresy, nor heathenism, as it is commonly understood, to believe and assert, ‘ That a life according to the holy guidings of the ‘ universal light in the conscience, is a kind of natural ‘ Christianity, or to be naturally a Christian.’

And though in his Apology he stabs with the sharpest points of wit, reason, and truth, the cause of degenerate philosophy, or those that were *undeservedly*

^s Clem. Alex. in Admon. ad Gent.

^h Lived anno 195.

called philosophers; yet he lays it still on the side of their great apostacy from that noble principle, which worthily renowned their predecessors; the being of whose stock, and assuming whose titles without their virtue, they vainly esteemed warrant enough for their pretensions to real science; not unlike the Pharisees among the Jews, as hath already been observed.

IV. Origen¹ (who I may say was twice a Christian; first, by education; and next, by choice; a strong defender of Christianity, as his notable books against Celsus and others do abundantly witness) treating of that divine light with which God has illuminated mankind, as his universal endowment, calls it, ‘An immutable law; which, with the knowledge of good and evil, is engraven upon the heart, and grafted into the soul, of man.’

V. Lactantius,² scholar to Arnobius, who writ smartly against the apostate Gentiles, esteemed a good and acute man, thus delivers himself about the matter in hand: ‘The law of God,’ saith he, ‘is made known unto us; whose light, like the stars to the mariner in the night-season, clearly discovers to us the path of wisdom. That law is pure and unspotted REASON (not inconsonant with, nor unintelligible by, NATURE) diffused through all the world; in itself unchangeable and eternal: which, that it may deter man from vice, doth faithfully, by its injunctions and prohibitions, declare unto man his duty.’—Again, ‘The way to ascend up to the house of truth, is to behold *within* us, that there is One Most High God, who made and governs all things: that Christ is God’s ambassador and builder, sent unto men; and as they receive him into their hearts, he buildeth a divine and immortal temple in them.’³

VI. But let us deliberately read what the so much admired Athanasius⁴ says to the Gentiles, who did frequently cast out that (vulgar) objection to the Chris-

¹ Lived about anno 203.

² Lived about anno 315.

³ De Cult.

Ver.

⁴ Lib. de Irâ, c. 2.

⁵ Lived about anno 325.

tians,

tians, which is now made against us: ‘How know
‘you that yours is the right way?’

‘The way whereby to attain the knowledge of God,
‘is *within* us. Which is proved from Moses; who
‘saith, The word of God is within thy heart; and
‘from this saying of Christ, The faith and kingdom
‘of God is within you. If then,’ says Athanasius,
‘the kingdom of God be within us, just so are we
‘able to understand the word, or voice of the Fa-
‘ther.’

Which solid, ancient, and great truth, could not but
highly aggravate the blame of such as were infidels to
it, because it was but the doctrine of their famed phi-
losophers, more clearly and scripturally expressed, as
it doth abundantly testify to us upon what ground it
was the Christians believed, and practised their reli-
gion; not tradition, however holy; but ‘sound inter-
‘nal conviction and revelation;’ from no words with-
out, but the eternal word of God in the heart, the
great discoverer of the will and way of God to men.
He that knows this word, or divine principle, to
reign in his heart, knoweth the kingdom of God
come there, and his will done, even the sanctification
of the soul.

VII. Chrysostom^p also is not wanting to ascribe some
honour to this holy light we contend for; who not
only confesseth the light mentioned in the first of
John, to be CHRIST, the WORD-GOD, who lighteneth
all mankind coming into the world; but also avers it
to be of a *saving* nature, unto all who believe in it,
and follow it. ‘Wherefore,’ saith he, ‘Let none
‘blame the light they are not saved, but their own
‘rebellion, who refuse to be saved by it.’ This he
very solemnly calls, ‘A teacher or instructor, dwel-
‘ling in man’s nature;’ or that no man is without a
teacher to instruct, inspire, help and assist him in the
way that leads to eternal life.

• Athanas. cont. Gent. ^p Lived about anno 380.

I will conclude these Christian testimonies with a passage of Augustin, not unsuitable to the business in hand.

VIII. Augustin,^a in his discourse on John, has this very notable passage, viz. ‘ That God is properly
‘ King of minds, or souls; because when he is re-
‘ ceived in, he governeth by his divine power and
‘ spirit in the heart: therefore is not his kingdom
‘ after the manner of this world, but *within*:’ and much to this purpose.

Again he distinguisheth upon the word REASON:
‘ There is a *superior* and *inferior* reason,’ saith he.
‘ The inferior is a mere rational creature, or that
‘ understanding which distinguisheth a man from a
‘ beast. But the *superior* reason is a LIGHT, or, as it
‘ were, a power in mankind, dictating, revealing,
‘ and enjoining divine, eternal and entirely good
‘ things: as for example, when it shall say, *This is*
‘ *sin*, thou oughtest not to commit, but avoid it. Why?
‘ Because it offends God.’

Thus far of primitive Christian-divinity, from about 132 years after Christ, to about 400 years after Christ, by way of confirmation of that part of the Gentile-divinity, which might, with least credit, be embraced. For to cite never so many primitive Christian authors to prove a God, holy life, and the immortality of the soul, the other points of Gentile-divinity, would look like labour in vain; since none that believes them to have been Christian, ought to doubt of their holding such general truths: but the wonder is, to quote them in the language of the so much, yet so undeservedly, decried and abused Quakers, viz. That not only the best Gentiles, but most approved Christians of the primitive times, confess to a divine light, principle, word, or spirit in man, whose inspiration gives infallible understanding; and as man is guided by it, he shall be recovered out of that dirt and mire sin hath

^a Lived about anno 393.

plunged him in; and it will free him from the snares of pleasures, enlighten his eyes, inspire his soul, and lead him gently by the hand in the way of eternal righteousness, whose reward from God will be immortal and eternal life.

C H A P. X.

The third part of Gentile-divinity, viz. that they were men of virtuous lives, and taught the indispensableness thereof to life eternal. Proved by numerous instances.

IT may now be time that I dispatch the other two parts of the Gentile-divinity, which I shall endeavour with all convenient brevity.

There are many instances of their pious doctrine, and singular examples of their virtue: I will instance in a few, to convince, if I can, such as scarcely believe any good of them, (and the rather, I fear, that they may charge the bad upon the light) that their doctrines and practice with respect to good living, were and are very commendable, and approved of all good Christians.

I. Pittacus Mitilenæus,* one of the seven wise men of Greece, as they were called; his apophthegms were these:

‘ What thou takest ill in thy neighbour, do not
‘ thyself. Reproach not the unhappy; for the hand
‘ of God is on them. Restore what is committed to
‘ thy trust. Bear with thy neighbour. Love thy
‘ neighbour. Reproach not thy friend, though he
‘ recede from thee a little. Acquire honesty. Seek

* Lived about the year of the world 3313. Before Christ about 630 years; which is 2330 years since. Stob. 28.

‘ obsequiousness. Love discipline, temperance, prudence, truth, faith, experience, dexterity, society, diligence, oeconomy, and piety.’ (a)

II. Chilon,* another of them; he was so just in all his actions, that in his old age he professed, ‘ He never had done any thing contrary to the conscience of an upright man; only that of one thing he was doubtful: having given sentence against his friend, according to law, he advised his friend to appeal from him (his judge); so to preserve both his friend and the law.’ Agellius relates it thus: ‘ When his life drew towards an end, ready to be seized by death, he spoke thus to his friends about him: “ My words and actions, in this long term of years, have been almost all such as I need not repent of; which, perhaps, you also know. Truly, even at this time, I am certain I never committed any thing, the remembrance whereof begets any trouble in me, unless this one thing only; which whether it were done amiss or not, I am uncertain: I sat with two others, as judge upon the life of my friend; the law was such, as the person must of necessity be condemned, so that either my friend must lose his life, or some deceit be used towards the law: revolving many things in my mind, for relief of a condition so desperate, I conceived that which I put in practice to be of all others the most easy to be borne: silently I condemned him, and persuaded those others who judged to absolve him. Thus I preserved in so great a business the duty both of a judge and friend: but from the act I receive this

* Lived at the same time. Laert.

(a) “ Thou therefore, which teachest another, teachest thou not thyself?” Rom. ii. 21.—“ Love thy neighbour as thyself; for I am the Lord.” Levit. xix. 18.—“ Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, just, pure, lovely, and of good report, think on these things.” Phil. iv. 8.

“ trouble,

“trouble, (b) that I fear it is not free from perfidiousness and guilt, in the *same* business, at the *same* time, and in a *publick* affair, to persuade others contrary to what was in my own judgment *best*.” Doubtless a man of light, fight, and conscience.

Of his apophthegms, or sayings, these few are delivered to us by Laertius. He said, ‘Providence of future things, collected by reason, is the virtue of a man.’ (c) Being demanded, Wherein the learned differ from the unlearned? he answered, ‘In a good hope.’ When asked, What is hard? he said, ‘To conceal secrets, to dispose of leisure well, and be able to bear an injury.’ Therefore said Chilon to his brother, ‘I can bear injuries; thou canst not.’

III. The precepts of the seven sophists of Greece, in general; Thales, Solon, Periander, Cleobulus, Chilon, Bias, and Pittacus (called the seven wise men) collected by Socrates, who flourished above two thousand years ago.

‘Follow God: obey the law: worship God: reverence thy parents: suffer for justice: know thyself: consider mortal things: respect hospitality: command thyself: honour Providence: use not swearing: speak well of that which is good: disparage none: praise virtue: do what is just: abstain from evil: instruct thy children: fear deceit: be a lover of wisdom: judge according to equity: curb thy tongue: examine without corruption: do that whereof thou shalt not repent: when thou hast sinned, be penitent; confine thine eye: perfect quickly: pursue what is profitable: be in childhood modest, in youth temperate, in manhood just, and in

(b) “The Gentiles who had not the law, became a law unto themselves, doing the things contained in the law; their consciences bearing witness, and their thoughts the mean while accusing or excusing.” Rom. ii. 14, 15.

(c) “To depart from evil is a good understanding.” Job xxviii. 28.—“And the hypocrite’s hope shall perish.” Job viii. 13.—“Why do you not rather take wrong?” 1 Cor. vi. 7.

‘ old age prudent, that thou mayest die untroubled.’ (d)

Thus far the wise men, who were therefore so called, because of their extraordinary virtue; and truly deserved the name of christian and virtuous, more abundantly than they who bear it now.

IV. Pythagoras very truly tells us, ‘ The discourse of that philosopher is vain, by which no passion of a man is healed.’ And indeed, to what serves their preaching, and hearing, and sacraments, who are neither cured nor curing?

‘ All which is determined to be done, should aim at, and tend to, the acknowledgment of the Deity.’

‘ Endeavour not to conceal thy faults with words, but to amend them by reproof.’

‘ This is the principle,’ saith Pythagoras, ‘ and the whole life of men consists in this, That they follow God; and this is the ground of right philosophy.’ (e)

‘ Purity is acquired by expiations, and by refraining from murder and adultery, and all pollution.’ (f)

‘ We ought either to be silent, or speak things that are better than silence.’

‘ Temper is the strength of the soul: for it is the light of the soul, clear from passion.’ (g)

‘ It is better to die, than to cloud the soul by intemperance or passion.’

‘ Stob. 28.

‘ Stob. 22.

‘ Jamblich.

(d) Reader, these weighty sayings are very scripture itself, and that as well of the New, as Old Testament (so called) especially where Christ saith, “ Swear not at all,” though spoke about seven hundred years before he came into the world.

(e) “ Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter: Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man.” Eccles. xii. 13.

(f) “ Pure religion and undefiled is, to keep himself unspotted from the world.” Jam. i. 27.

(g) In this sense, I fear we may say, that some have no light in them.

Pythagoras

Pythagoras returns not reproaches for reproaches. (b) Though some professors of Christianity reproach when they are not reproached. Behold the difference betwixt a sober heathen, and such scolding Christians, but therefore no true Christians.

V. Anaxagoras held, ‘ That contemplation of God was the end of life, and that liberty of mind, which proceeds from such heavenly meditation.*’

To one who blamed him for neglecting his country; ‘ Wrong me not,’ said he, ‘ my greatest care is my country;’ pointing to heaven.

Suidas saith, ‘ That he was cast into prison by the Athenians, for introducing a new opinion concerning God; and banished the city, though Pericles undertook to plead his cause.’

Josephus saith, ‘ That the Athenians believing the sun to be God, which he affirmed to be without sense and knowledge, he was by the votes of a few of them condemned to death.’

However, thus they writ upon his grave, as engrished by T. Stanley.

Here lies, who through the truest paths did pass
To th’ world celestial, ANAXAGORAS.

Which was an high testimony to his good life, and their belief of his attaining of immortality.

VI. Socrates tells us, ‘ Right philosophy is the way to true happiness; the offices whereof are two, to contemplate God, and to abstract the soul from corporal sense.’ (i)

* Laert. * Plat. Phed.

(b) “ Who when he was reviled, reviled not again.” 1 Pet. ii. 23.

(i) “ The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.” Psal. cxl. 10.

‘ To

‘ To do good, is the best course of life.’ (k)

‘ Virtue is the beauty, vice the deformity, of the soul.’

‘ Nobility is a good temper of soul and body.’

‘ The best way of worshipping God is, to do what he commands.’ An hard saying to professors of Christianity, but a great truth.

‘ Our prayers should be for blessings in general; for God knows best what is good for us. God considers integrity, not munificence.’ This judgeth formal Christians, with their exterior worship. (l)

‘ The office of a wise man is, to discern what is good and honest, and to shun that which is dishonest.’

‘ They who know what they ought to do, and do it not, are not wise and temperate, but fools and stupid.’ (m)

Libanius saith, ‘ Of all things which man can call his, Socrates considered the soul to be chief; and that he only is truly happy, who purifieth that from vice.’ (n)

He taught every where, ‘ That a just man, and an happy man, were all one.’

He said, ‘ He wondered at those who carve images of stone, that they take such care to make stones resemble men, whilst they neglect and suffer themselves to resemble stones.’ He meant, they had stony hearts, as the prophet expresseth it.

* Xen. Mem. 3. p. 780. Clem. Alex. Strom. L. 5. Stob. 218. Xen. Mem. 4. p. 803. Id. Mem. 1. 722. 4. 804. Id. Mem. 3.

* Ibid. * Apolog. * Clem. Alex. Strom. 2. 417. * Laert.

(k) “ If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.” Luke ix. 23.

(l) Reader, These sententious expressions to have every one of them a scripture, would be tedious and superfluous; for they are almost word for word scripture itself, as who knoweth scripture may plainly see.

(m) So saith Christ, Mat. vii. 26, 27.

(n) “ The pure in heart shall see God.” Mat. v. 8.

Being demanded, Who live without perturbation? he answered, ' They who are conscious to themselves of no evil thing.' (o)

Being demanded whom he thought richest; he answered, ' He who is contented with least; for content is the riches of nature.' (p)

Being demanded what continence is; he answered, ' Government of corporal pleasures.'

' Good men must let the world see, that their manners are more firm than an oath.' This saying shews a state of integrity above swearing, that Socrates had a sight of, and preferred before swearing, as I may again observe. But to proceed, let us hear the charge of his enemies, and his defence.

Melitus, son of Melitus, a Pythian, accused Socrates, son of Sophroniscus, an Alopecian; ' Socrates violateth the law, not believing the deities which this city believeth, but introducing ANOTHER God. He violates the law likewise in corrupting youth: the punishment death.'

The charge is the same to this day; good men are made offenders for a word, and darkness called light, and light darkness.

Soon after Anytus, who caused that bill to be preferred by Melitus, in that Socrates industriously assayed his overthrow, and the rest of his comical associates, (for they were comedians) sent privately to him, desiring him to forbear the mention of his trade; and assuring him, that he would thereupon withdraw his action. But Socrates returned him answer, ' That he would never forbear speaking truth so long as he lived: that he would always use the same speeches concerning him: that this accusation was not of force enough to make him refrain from speaking

* Stob. 40. * Id. 40. Id. 84. * Id. 114.

(o) " The fruit of the spirit is peace." Gal. v. 22.

(p) " But godliness with content is great gain."

* those

those things, which he thought himself before obliged to say.^a (q) Again, observe his resolution. ^b It is likely, that God, in his love to me, hath ordained that I should die in the most convenient age, and by the gentlest means. For if I die by sentence, I am allowed the benefit of the most easy kind of death; I shall give my friends the least trouble. Farther, if, when I give an account of my actions towards God and men, the judges think fit to condemn me, I will rather choose to die, than to beg of them a life worse than death.

Yet that I die unjustly, it will not trouble me; it is not a reproach to me, but to those who condemned me. I am much satisfied with the example of Palamedes, who suffered death in the like manner: he is much more commended than Ulysses, the procurer of his death. I know both future and past times will witness, I never hurt, or injured any; but, on the contrary, have advantaged all that conversed with me to my utmost ability, communicating what good I could *gratis*, and not for *gain*.^b

I think it most unbeseeming a philosopher to *sell* his advice, and extremely contrary to my practice; for ever since, by God's command, I first entered into philosophy, (r) I was never known to *take* any thing, but keep my exercises in publick, for every one to hear that will. I neither lock the door when I teach, nor go abroad to the multitude, and exact money of the hearers.' As some heretofore have done, and some in our times yet do,

^a Liban. Ap. p. 644. ^b 1 Pet. iii. 14.

(q) 'Nothing they could do was able to draw him out of his endeavours to detect the loose comedians, that sought therefore his ruin.'

(r) The word *philosophy* hath been otherwise appropriated since those days, as many other words have been; for it then signified a love of wisdom, given by Pythagoras; which wisdom was the way of holy living, not vain and untoward contests about impracticable things.

Did

Did not Socrates then excel the priests of our day? I mean as well some creeping non-conformists, as any other, who make a trade of it, and indeed it is their best. The righteousness of this Gentile condemns their mercenary practice, who pretend to be Christian ministers; and giveth proof of an higher state, than that to which they have yet attained.

VII. Antisthenes, institutor of the Cynicks, as they were called, and scholar to Socrates, taught, ‘ That virtue was the truest nobility; that piety was alone needful to lasting happiness.’ (s)—That true virtue stood not in saying, but doing, that which was good: not in much learning, or many words, but upright actions. In short, that the principle of virtue is sufficient to what wisdom is needful, and that all other things ought to have reference thereto. That piety is the best armour, and virtuous persons are always friends. (t) That virtue is an armour none can either pierce, or take from good men. He prefers a just man before his neighbour; and gives women’s souls the same privilege to virtue with men. He accounted pleasures one of the greatest mischiefs in the world; and being asked, what learning was best; he answered, “ That which unlearns men evil: for those,” saith he, “ who would live for ever, must have a care that their lives be holy and just in this world.” (u)

IX. From Diogenes, his constant scholar and friend, take this one very true and notable saying. Of spi-

¹ Laert. & Suid. in vit. Antisthen.

² Stob.

(s) “ Ye are an holy nation, a royal priesthood.” 1 Pet. ii. 9.—“ And hath made us kings, and priests, &c.” Rev. i. 6.—“ Blessed are they who hear the word of God, and keep it.” Luke xi. 28.—“ Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world?” 1 Cor. i. 20.

(t) “ Put on the breast-plate of righteousness.” Eph. vi. 14.

(u) “ The just shall live by faith.” Heb. ii. 4.—“ Without holiness no man shall see the Lord.” Heb. xii. 14.

ritual exercitation, Laertius makes him speak to this purpose, in his account of his doctrine: ‘ That where
 ‘ mens souls are deeply and frequently employed in
 ‘ that spiritual retirement, and waiting for divine
 ‘ strength, and are often exercised in meditations
 ‘ upon the eternal mind, holy revelations, or illumina-
 ‘ tions, will occur, which enlighten the soul, and
 ‘ enable it the better to live and act virtuously. (x)

X. Nay, so greatly were the piety and wisdom of Xenocrates revered at Athens, about four hundred years before “ Swear not at all ” was spoken by our Lord Jesus, that the judges of that place would not offer to put Xenocrates upon his oath in an high matter of evidence, in case he would have *sworn*; because they thought it an affront to his integrity, that his *bare word* should not be preferred before all the oaths of other men; ‘ dispensing,’ says Valerius Maximus; ‘ with that to him, they would not have excused in
 ‘ one another.’ Which is no small proof, that the light, among the heathens, impeached oaths in evidence of man’s imperfection, as being but only supplemental, or in the place of remedies, against want of honesty; and obviously esteemed it an higher and more noble state to arrive at the integrity which needs not the extraordinary and affrighting obligation of an oath, where mere fear of the curse intailed upon perjury, and not an innate faithfulness, most commonly extorts true evidence: which is a sufficient answer to this question, ‘ How, and by what light, we could
 ‘ have aimed at that perfection, or have known that
 ‘ doctrine, had not the scriptures been?’

XI. ‘ The chief good therefore,’ said Zeno, ‘ is to
 ‘ square our lives according to the knowledge given

¹ Valer. Max. 2. 10. Cic. pro. Bal. Laert.

(x) “ They that wait upon the Lord, shall renew their strength.”
 Isa. xl. 31.—“ The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him.”
 Psal. xxv. 14.

‘ us from the Eternal Being, (y) when the soul, entering into the path of virtue, walketh by the steps and guidance of right reason, and followeth God.^m’ Which brings to my remembrance those Stoical maxims delivered by Laertius, Cicero, Quintilian, &c. and collected by T. S. for us, charged upon Zeno, and his disciples: some of which I had formerly occasion to mention in another discourse. They are these:

‘ A wise man is void of passion. A wise man is sincere: a wise man is divine, for he hath God within himself. But a wicked man is an atheist. The wicked are contrary to the good: God, *he* is good; so against God. A wise man is religious; he is humble; he only is a priest; he only is a prophet; he loves and honours his parents. A wise man only is free. A wise man is void of sin.ⁿ’ (z)

Upon which I query, whether this amounts not to as much as what the scriptures teach, and these here inserted tell you; “That the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and to depart from iniquity a good understanding?”

But farther to the same purpose: ‘A wise man is innocent: a wise man is free. Wicked men are slaves.’ Again, ‘A wise man is only perfect, for he wanteth no virtue. A wicked man is imperfect, for he hath no virtue.’ (a)

Whereby it is evident, that the wisdom they meant was *virtue*, in opposition to vice, which they esteemed *folly*, as doth the scripture frequently. As much as to say, those who are thus good, are only wise.

Again, ‘A wise man never lyeth. A wise man is peaceable, meek, modest, diligent, virtuous, con-

^m Cic. de Fin. 2. ⁿ Laert. Ibid. Stob. Laert. Stob. Laert.
^o Idem. Cic. Parad. Stob.

(y) Rom. ii. 14, 15.

(z) “The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.” Psal. cxi. 10.—“The rulers take counsel together against the Lord.” Psal. ii. 2.—“The wisdom which is from above, is first pure, then peaceable.” Jam. i. 17.

(a) Psal. cxi. 9, 10.

‘stant, and only is incitable to virtue. Fools are
‘not.’”

Where it is obvious, that by *fools* they meant wicked and indocible people, who are stiff-necked, rebelling against God, not delighting to retain God in their knowledge.

XII. Plato thus: ‘To be like God, is to be *holy*,
‘*just*, and *wise*; which is the end of man’s being
‘born, and should be of his studying philosophy.’^(b)
‘That virtue and honesty are all one;’ as saith Clemens Alexandrinus out of him.

This, reader, was the doctrine, this the study, and, which is best of all, this was the practice, of many of the virtuous heathens, who became “a law unto themselves,” bounding their appetites, whether corporal or mental, within the approved limits of an inward holy guide; like careful mariners, steering the course of their lives by the direction of that HEAVENLY STAR, which in the Gentile *night* arose in their consciences, to guide them unto a blessed immortality; which shall be the last point of their divinity, and then we close this discourse with respect to them.

C H A P. XI.

That the last point of Gentile divinity, to wit, immortality, and eternal rewards, is also very clearly and positively held forth by the ancient heathens. Six testimonies from them, to prove it. Socrates’s great faith in particular; and the lofty strain of the Pythagoreans.

THAT the Gentiles believed there was an *immortality*, and that all men should hereafter be accountable for the deeds done in the body (a point

^p Idem. ^q Theatr. cap. 3, 10.

(b) “Be ye holy, for I the Lord your God am holy.” Levit. xi. 44, 45.

but obscurely laid down among the Jews themselves) be pleased to take these few ensuing authorities, as a proof of what is asserted.

I. Pythagoras, and the Pythagoreans; that they all held the immortality of the soul; consider his and their doctrine in the point.

First, he said, 'That the soul is immortal.'

Next, 'That the soul is incorruptible; it never dieth: for when it goes out of the body, it goes into the other world; the pure to God, the impure bound by furies in indissoluble chains.' (c)

Here immortality and rewards are asserted.

'But when a man, who hath lived justly, dieth, his soul ascendeth to the pure æther (or heaven) and lives in the happy *ævum* (or everlasting age) with the blessed. (d)

II. Heraclitus. 'If my body be over-pressed, it must descend to the destined place. Nevertheless, my soul shall *not* descend; but, being a thing immortal, shall fly up on high to heaven.'

III. Euripides, a grave tragedian, whose work was to undo what wanton comedians had done to undo the people, speaks thus; 'Who knoweth, whether to die be not to *live*; and to live, to *die*.' (e)

Surely he said not so of any distrust of immortality, but in belief of it, and that reward that would attend good men.

IV. Socrates: 'The body, being compounded, is dissolved by death: the soul, being simple, passeth into another life, incapable of corruption.' (f)

'The souls of the good after death are in an happy estate, united to God in a blessed inaccessible place:

Plut. Plat. 4, 7. Stob. Phys. Plat. Phed. Ad Amph.
' Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. 3. Plat. Phed.

(c) Rev. xx. 12, 13, 14. xxi. 7, 8.

(d) 2 Cor. v. 8.

(e) 2 Cor. v. 8. Philip. i. 21.]

(f) Eccles. xii. 7.

‘ the bad, in convenient places, suffer^d condign punishment.”’ (g)

This puts the case of the sufficiency of the light to discover *immortality* to the very heathens, out of all doubt; and not only so, but *rewards* too; since we have them here believing the righteous shall be saved, and the wicked damned. This made Socrates so chearful at his death; something of which I think fit here to insert.

‘ Truly,’ says he, ‘ did not I believe I should go
‘ to the just God, and to men better than any living,
‘ I were inexcusable for contemning death: but I am
‘ *sure* to go to God, a very good master, and hope to
‘ meet with good men; and am of good courage,
‘ hoping that something of a man subsists after death;
‘ and that it is then much better with the good than
‘ with the bad.’ (b)

When he had made an end of speaking, Crito, one of his followers, asked him what directions he would leave concerning his sons, and other affairs; and if they could do any thing that might be acceptable to him. ‘ I desire no more,’ saith he, ‘ than what I have
‘ often told you: if you take care of yourselves, what-
‘ soever you do will be acceptable to me and mine,
‘ though you promise nothing: if you neglect your-
‘ selves and VIRTUE, you can do nothing acceptable to
‘ us, though you promise never so much.’

That, answered Crito, we shall observe: but how wilt thou be buried? ‘ As you think good,’ said he;
‘ if you can *catch me*, and that I give you not the
‘ slip.’ Then, with a smile, applying himself unto us, ‘ I cannot persuade Crito,’ saith he, ‘ that I am
‘ any thing more than the *carcase* you will anon be-
‘ hold; and therefore he takes this care for my inter-
‘ ment. It seems, that what even now I told him,

▼ Idem.

(g) The sheep on the right hand, and the goats on the left.”
Mat. xxv. 31, 32, 33.

(b) 1 Cor. xv. 28, 29, 30, 31.

‘ that

that as soon as I have taken the poison, *I shall go to the joys of the blessed*, hath been to little purpose. He was my bail, bound to the judges for my appearance; you must now be *sureties* to him, that I am *departed*.^{*} Let him not say, That SOCRATES is carried to the *grave*, or laid *under ground*: for know, dear Crito, such a mistake were a wrong to my *soul*. Be not dejected; tell the world, my *body* only is *buried*; and that after what manner thou pleasest. Yet, saith Socrates, 'I may pray God, and will, that my passage hence may be happy; which I beseech him to grant.' And in the same instant drank it off *easily*, without any disturbance.

'This,' saith Plato, 'was the end of the best, the wisest, and most just of men.' A story, which Cicero professeth he never read without tears.

This ends Socrates upon the present subject; and happy man was he to make so happy an end, as to die for the only true God. He had great reason to believe (maugre the envious uncharitableness of some) that he would reward him, when it shall be said to many bawling pretended Christians, "Depart from me; I know you not. For as men sow, so shall they reap in the day of God."

I need not to tell the world, that Plato and other heathens have written accurately upon that subject, when it is so notorious. Wherefore to close up my testimonies upon this head, and whole discourse of Gentile-divinity, I will present the reader with two short passages, the one from Virgil; the other of the Pythagoreans, thus translated to my hand, only a little varied, by an ingenious author.

V. *Donec longa dies perfecto temporis orbe
Concretam exemit labem, purumque reliquit
Æthereum sensum, atque aurai simplicis ignem.*[†]

^{*} Observe Socrates his distinction betwixt being *dead* and *departed*.

[†] Virg. *Æneid.* lib. 6. v. 745.

In English thus :

'Till that long day at last be come about
That wasted has all filth and foul desire,
And leaves the soul *celestial throughout*,
Bathing her senses in pure liquid fire.

To which agrees that golden distich of the Pythagoreans, as it hath been called ;

VI. Ἦν δ' ἀπολείψας Σῶμα ἐς αἰθερῶ ἐλεύθεον ἔλθης,
Ἔσσεαι ἀθάνατος, Θεὸς ἀμύροτος ὃν ἐτι θνητὸς.*

To this purpose :

Who after death once reach the heavenly plain,
Become like God, and never die again.

The Greek has it, as 'Immortal Gods.' Which Hierocles interprets thus: 'Herein shall good men resemble the Deity, that they shall be immortal, like God himself.'

Thus, reader, have I given thee a very true account of the Gentile-divinity, what was the faith, what the practice, and what the prophecy and hope of many Gentiles through this light within; each of which had numerous followers.

Observe; They began where Jews and Christians began; that is, with God; and they end with what they confess to be theirs, namely, a state of IMMORTALITY, in which every one is rewarded according to their works. Only they are thus far to be commended before either of them, if we consider many of our times, that they were more certain, plain and true in their acknowledgment of a *divine light, law or principle in man*; which, being obeyed, supplied them with daily wisdom and strength, and finally led them to

* Pythag. Aur.

God:

God: and also were more just to their faith, by a life excelling the most of them in virtue and self-denial. And certainly, in that great and terrible day, “when God will judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ,” according to Paul’s gospel, such pious Gentiles, who knowing God, glorified him *as* God, and conscientiously did the things contained in his law, will be finally acquitted and rewarded.

C H A P. XII.

That the heathens had a sight of the coming of Christ. That, and their refusing to swear, prove the sufficiency of the light.

OVER and above what I promised; being rather willing to err on that hand, if yet it be erring; I shall briefly observe two things greatly importing our defence of the light, and the satisfaction of our adversaries, if it be true that they seek to be satisfied.

1. That the testimony of Socrates and Xenocrates about *swearing* sufficiently prove to us, that by the light they had they saw a state above swearing, or a righteousness excelling that of the legal Jews; which manifestly corresponds with what Christ said; who, above four hundred years after them, taught, as what properly became the evangelical righteousness, “Swear not at all.”

2. That though their light did not tell them the express names Christ should be called by, yet they foresaw and prophesied of his coming, and how he should come of a virgin, and both what he was, and the work he came to do, which the names given of the Holy Ghost did plainly import. Neither is it the mere knowing of so many letters, syllables, or words, that gives the true knowledge, or salvation, but the experiencing him to be that which he is, and wherefore he is so denominated. For to that end came he

into the world. CHRIST signifies *anointed*, eminently with respect to that peculiar manifestation: JESUS, a *Saviour*, for he should “ save his people from their “ sins.” EMMANUEL, which is to say, *God with us*, &c. That in this sense he was *prophetically* held forth by the Gentiles, through that measure of light they had, hear Plato and Virgil.

Marcil. Ficinus, who wrote the life of Plato, that great Gentile, tells us among many other things, ‘ That being seriously asked by some that visited him, ‘ as the last thing they had a mind to be informed ‘ about, *How long men should attend to his writings?* ‘ (of which he seemed so chary, living and dying in ‘ the belief of what he recommended to the world) ‘ he solemnly answered, “ TILL THAT MORE HOLY “ AND DIVINE PERSON SHALL APPEAR TO VISIT THE “ WORLD, WHOM ALL MEN OUGHT TO FOLLOW.” At once both believing such an one to appear, and then forbidding all to prefer that lesser discovery he had given the world, through the improvement of his talent of light, before that greater manifestation, which that DIVINE PERSON would bring with him into the world: as if he had said, ‘ Mine may help you with ‘ respect to that knowledge which is your duty in this ‘ generation, and so point at him that afterwards shall ‘ come; but I am not he, neither do I believe this ‘ the most excellent discovery that can be made. But ‘ as the *lesser* light may lead to the *greater*, and is at ‘ last swallowed up of it; so can I only point at him; ‘ and when he is come, all I have done must *yield* to ‘ him: for I declare that ALL ought to FOLLOW him; ‘ because in following of him, they will obtain eter- ‘ nal blessedness.’

Let us now see what Virgil will add to this matter, as translated in Eusebius.

Sicelides musæ paulo majora canamus,

Ye muses, with a lofty wing,
Let us of higher matters sing.^a

And what be they?

Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas.

Who lives this age, will clearly see
Cumæa's verse accomplish'd be.

This *Cumæa* (so called of her city) was a *sybil*, who lived about 600 years before Christ, and *prophefied* of him.

Virgil wrote these verses about forty years before Christ was born. I query if the Jews themselves had so positive a sense of the Messiah's coming. But to proceed.

*Magnus ab integro seclorum nascitur ordo:
Jam redit & virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna.
Jam nova progenies cælo demittitur alto.*

Th' integrity of times shall now renew again,
A *virgin* also shall bring back old Saturn's reign.
Now is from heaven high
Descended a new progeny.^b

This is a *direct prophecy* of the marvellous conception, that he should be born of a *virgin*, and the *good* that would redound to the world thereby, as he farther 'addeth;

*Tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum
Desinet, ac toto surget gens aurea mundo,
Casta fave Lucina——
Te duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri,
Irrita perpetuâ solvent formidine terras.*

^a See Const. Orat. in Euf. Virg. Bucol. Eclog. 4.
15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.
^b Isa. vii. 14,
Isai. ii. 2,
3, 4, 5.

The birth of that most happy *child*, by whom
The iron age shall end, and golden come,
Chaste Lucina favour——

He shall the power of wickedness destroy,
And free the world from fear and all annoy.^c

Yet again :

*Ipsæ lacte domum referent distenta capellæ
Ubera : nec magnos metuent armenta leones.*

The *goats* shall bring their udders *milk-fill'd* home,
And th' gentle flocks great *lions* shall not shun.^d

Yet farther :

*Ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores,
Occidet & serpens, & fallax herba veneni
Occidet : Assyrium vulgo nascetur Amomum.*

Thy *cradle fairest flow'rs* shall send forth still,
Which shall have pow'r *the pois'nous herbs* to kill.
The serpent he shall to *destruction* bring :
Assyrian Amomum shall *each-where* spring.^e

Hinc ubi jam firmata virum te fecerit ætas.

When thou shalt attain at length
To years of manhood and firm strength.

Now let any tell me, if this be not a most pathetical account of the virtue and power of Christ, and the very end of his coming into the world; as, by a comparison of it with the scriptures in the margin, will plainly appear.^f

Et duræ quercus sudabunt roscida mella.

^c Chap. ix. & x. ^d John iii. '5, 6. ^e Isai. xi. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.
^f Jer. ii. 3. ^f Psal. ii. Psal. xlv. Isai. ix. 6, 7. Chap. xi.
1, 2, 3, to 9.

From the hard oak there shall
Sweet honey sweat forth and fall.*

To conclude;

*Cede & ipse mari vector; nec nautica pinus
Mutabit merces: omnis feret omnia tellus.
Non rastros patietur humus, non vinea falcem,
Nec varios discet mentiri lana colores.
Sponte sua sandyx pascentes vestiet agnos.
O mihi tam longæ maneat pars ultima vitæ,
Spiritus & quantum sat erit, tua dicere facta!*

The sea shall then be quiet, no ship shall range
Abroad, her wares with others to exchange:
Then ev'ry land shall ev'ry thing produce,
And then to plow the earth they shall not use:
Vines by the hook shall not be rectify'd,
Nor wool with divers colours shall be dy'd:
Fair fleeces, voluntary, shall proceed,
And clothe the lambs, while they do gently feed.
O might my days be lengthen'd, so that I
Might sing of thy great deeds before I die.

Thus, to say no more, though much more might be said of this kind, have *beatbens*, by the *light* we have been hitherto defending, not only *foretold* Christ's appearance, but the very *work* for which he did come, and for which he received those peculiar names of *Christ*, *Jesus*, *Emmanuel*, the *Restorer of Breaches*, *Redeemer*, *Saviour*, &c. So that I hope our adversaries will either disprove these writings, or confess that the light God gave to the Gentiles, they obeying it, was *sufficient*, and that by it they had some of them a sight of Christ, with respect to the great *performance* for which he was so named.

* Isai. lx. 1, 2, 3, to the end. Chap. lxi. 1, 2, 3. Matt. i. 21, to the end. Luke ii. 10, to 33. 1 John iii. 5, 8.

I have omitted any mention of those *sybils* so much regarded by Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, and abundance of the ancients, for David Blondell's sake, an accurate Frenchman, who endeavours to prove the books that go under their name to be spurious; written since Christ, by some affected to Christianity, to promote it with the Gentiles, and therefore not genuine prophecies of his coming: though he grants, ' *Sybils* there were of old, and excellent things they wrote, but that they were burnt in the capitol of Rome, several hundred years before Christ came in the flesh, and scattered remains only extant;' yet among them enough will be afforded, as Virgil from the Cumæan already mentioned, by which to prove the great *forefight* some of the Gentiles had of Christ's being conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of a *virgin*, and finally, coming in the *flesh* for the salvation of the world; and (which is more than any before Virgil had done) *the time when*, namely, *within that age*; which was the reign of Augustus Cæsar; in the beginning of which Virgil wrote, and about the end of which *Christ was born*.

C H A P. XIII.

It is granted that the *Jew*, and much more the *Christian*, hath the advantage of the *Gentile*. Yet that the *Gentile* had enough for salvation.

BUT that I may provide against both ignorance and malice, let none unworthily infer from hence, that I prefer the state of Gentilism before the state of Christianity: no, nor yet that I so much as intend to equal it with that of the *Jews*, to whom pertained " the adoption, glory, covenant, and the giving of the law, whose were the Fathers, and of whom Christ himself came after the flesh; who is God (the ONLY God) over all, blessed for ever. Amen."

For

For this let all know, that far greater were the privileges that both *Jew* and *Christian* were blessed with, than those of the ancient *Gentiles*. God gave the *Jews* what the *Gentiles* had; but he was not pleased to endow the *Gentiles* with all that he freely bestowed upon the *Jews*: yet that he gave them what was sufficient to godliness, is altogether as certain: for the difference lay not in the root of the matter, but only in some extraordinary helps, and several visible services, figurative of, and that pointed at, a farther glory.

The word “Nigh in the heart,” of which Moses testified, was not the only privilege of the Jew, but of the Gentile also. The Spirit of God strove as well with the Gentile as the Jewish man; and God himself declared their “new moons, solemn assemblies, feasts, baths, &c.” to be “an abomination;” and bid them “cleanse themselves, and put away the evil of their doings;”^b and that they would “make them a new heart, and a new spirit:” intimating, that though he did attend their childhood with many helps, that were wanting to other nations, yet he required fear, purity and righteousness, and that which was the most essential thing: which because it was required of the Gentiles as well as the Jews, and that many Gentiles believed so, and accordingly lived; unto which declaring they were inclined by the *same* Good Spirit which Job says is “in man,” and that “Inspiration of the Almighty which gives understanding,” I cannot in justice but conclude, they wanted not the ground-work any more than the Jews. So that the sum of what I have been urging is but this, and thus much it is, ‘That though God was more beneficent to the *Jew*, especially to the *Christian*, than the *Gentile*, and consequently that as the *Jew* had those assistances the *Gentile* had not; so the Christian dispensation is the PERFECTION of the divine light, life, and immortality, *more weakly seen* both by *Jew* and *Gentile*. Yet also, that God did communicate to

^b Isa. i. 12, 13, 14, 15. Ezek. xviii. 31, 32.

‘ the *Gentiles* such a measure of his divine light and Spirit, as, diligently adhered to, and faithfully followed, was sufficient to their salvation from sin here, and consequently from wrath to come; and that they themselves did so believe, teach, live, and die, in perfect hope and full assurance of eternal recompence, in a state of immortality.’

And though I will not be so strict in my opinion of the *best* Gentiles, as to deny there might be some *self-mixtures* from temper, education, or otherwise; yet I will also boldly affirm, that as the light they had was sufficient in itself to their salvation; of which their life and doctrine are a notable demonstration; so they had, some of them, a glimmering prospect and bold belief of as high a state of purity, glory, and immortality, as man’s nature is capable of attaining to. Let thus much suffice, whether some be pleased, or not pleased, in defence of the universality and sufficiency of the light of CHRIST within; at least with respect to the Gentiles-divinity, and a full answer to the clamours of our many adversaries, against the ‘ Light’s sufficiency to discover sin, and convert from it.

C H A P. XIV.

A great objection stated and answered. The *light* both LAW and GOSPEL, not in the same discovery, but in itself. A way to reconcile the seeming difference about it. The light still defended as asserted.

BUT because I am yet to expect doubters about this blessed light, who rather strive to oppose it by their notions, than believe it and obey it to their salvation; I will suppose that some may yet object:

‘ Certainly this light within can be, at most, but the law in the conscience, answering to the first covenant: for here is scarce any mention made of Christ in this long discourse. And if this light were Christ, as is affirmed by you Quakers, then how comes

‘ comes it that he was not so called of old by the
 ‘ Jews and Greeks? and why typified to come, when
 ‘ he was come before, and whilst typified? And far-
 ‘ ther, in what sense can he be understood to bear our
 ‘ iniquities, and men and women to be saved by his
 ‘ blood, if this light be the Saviour, Messiah, Christ,
 ‘ &c. as you believe, and endeavour to maintain now
 ‘ in the world?’

This objection, I suppose, the reader will allow to be the most weighty made against our principle; and that I have therein dealt more fairly by our opposers than they usually deal with us; since I have here laid down the very strength of their objection against the light we assert. To all which I shall answer in the fear of God, and spirit of moderation.

The objection consists mainly of these four parts: The first, relating to the light's being but the law, not the gospel. The second, to the light's never being called Christ, by Jews or Greeks. The third, to Christ's being typified, and yet in being at the same time. The fourth, to Christ's blood, the bearing our sins, and which way this could be appropriated to the light, and not do injury to the holy manhood.

First then, I shall answer to that part of the objection which concerns the light's being but, or no more than, the law.

I do thus far agree, to wit, that the light is the law; but that it is not therefore in *any* sense the gospel, I also deny; yet not in that respect wherein it is the law: for as in that state it cannot justify, so it would be to say, it is the law, and it is not the law, *ad idem*. I say then, that the light may be both law and gospel, in reference to a twofold manifestation.

“Where there is no law, there is no transgression.” It might as well have been said (since they themselves confess it to be the law) that where there is no *light*, there is no transgression; and the rather, because the apostle says expressly, “Whatever, is reprov’d,” or
sinful,

sinful, "is made manifest by the *light*." Eph. v. 13. Therefore, since all have *transgressed*, all have *light*, and ever had.

In this state, then, it is a law, which *justifies* none; all being concluded under guilt, and children of wrath: for whoever is in that which is reproveable, is under *condemnation* from the law, or the reproofing act of this holy light. But again; such as, by unfeigned repentance, come to *obey* the light, they are herein justified in a twofold sense, (and I so speak for the sake of the simple, beguiled by a wrong apprehension of the word) First, in that God *acquits* for his name's sake; who is merciful, pardoning iniquity, transgression and sin, in all that repent with unfeigned repentance. Secondly, in that he *accepts* upon the renewal and continuance of the creature's humble and sincere obedience. Neither are such properly come to the complete *sonship*. They are but on their journey; they must give good proof of their fidelity, diligence, and loyalty to God, as servants, before they are received into that excellent state of sonship, which goes not out of the Father's house for ever.

This is clearly distinguished, and weightily expressed, by the apostle Paul to the Galatians, "The heir," says he, "whilst under age, differs not from a servant, " but is under tutors until the time appointed of the " father: even so we, when we were children, were " in bondage, under the elements of the world: " therefore the seed came, that by faith in it, the " adoption of sons might be known." This is the perfection of the brightness of the light, which is all along still the same in itself, though not the same to the creature. The outward sun is the cause of the early dawnings; and is, at that very same time, in itself, the same glorious body of light as when in the meridian: but if men, either through natural weakness, or the many fogs and mists of tradition, education, ignorance or prejudice, suffer an eclipse, they must not blame the light, but themselves. He that follows the light in its holy discoveries, and walks in it,

it, which was ever the just man's path, shall meet with blessedness at the end of his travels. But such as let the world of wickedness get between it and them, are overtaken with night.

“ Abraham saw,” it is said, “ Christ's day.” What day? The dispensation of *sonship*, as heir of all things; the day of perfect restitution: which he could never have done, had he not had light, by which to have seen it. So several of those holy ancients obtained a degree above many, and arrived at a growth, yea, the benefit and enjoyment of a dispensation, that was not then general, through the weakness of the age. Such really saw beyond the offerings, types, figures and shadows, to a state more inward, spiritual, and substantial, by taking good heed to the heavenly light in their consciences. And this, indeed, was the end of all external administrations, to drive the creature inward, and point out unto it some more hidden mystery, that man's wandering from God had caused him to neglect: yet still was Christ, the WORD-GOD, a saving light in that state. And the light of the law was as a school-master, that led such as diligently obeyed it, to that more excellent discovery of the same light, which is now called the Gospel, or Glad Tidings; as certainly it was, after so black and cold a season as had long overcast the heavens, to have the ‘Glorious SUN of Righteousness appear in that blessed body, prepared and anointed for that purpose, in a manner transcendent to all former manifestations of himself.’

Thus it was, that such as had lived up most faithfully to the law of God, or light of *that dispensation*, gladly received Christ, believed in him, became his followers, and the companions of his cross and sufferings. So that he, who was the light of the law, is also the light of the gospel, though not in one and the same manifestation, or degree of discovery: as the light is not one in condemning and justifying, though it be one in itself; nor the same in its lustre in the degree and growth of little children, young men, and fathers; yet one pure, eternal, unalterable light of
life

life and righteousness in itself. If therefore it doth the office of the law in any, to be sure such an one is yet under a state of condemnation for evil, and he is not yet come to know the fulfilling of the law, as becometh every follower of Christ; yea, every one that would come to Christ.

Christ indeed fulfils the law for us: but how? The light in us, as we are subject to it, and led by it, administers an holy power, by which we are enabled to do that which is good and acceptable in the sight of the Lord; and so, obeying the light, we fulfil the law: "Thus he works his works in us and for us." And so far was Christ from disengaging his followers from an indispensable necessity of keeping the law, as outwardly engraven on stones, that he set them a far harder task, by how much it is more easy to refrain ourselves from acting than thinking. "Thou shalt not commit adultery," saith the dispensation of Moses. "Whosoever looks on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her in his heart," saith that more excellent dispensation of Christ. Certainly, then, those men who fancy themselves upon easy terms of being excused from fulfilling the law, or performing good works, as a condition to justification, must basely abuse themselves, and dangerously hazard the well-being of their own souls. In short, He was the true light, who said, "He that looks up on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart:"¹ but so was HE also, that said of old by Moses, "Thou shalt not commit adultery." Should we therefore conclude two lights, and not rather two several manifestations, or gradual discoveries of the self-same eternal light?

To conclude: the law, as I may say, is the gospel *begun*; and the gospel is the law *finished*. He that would be justified, must first be condemned; and they who would be healed, must first be wounded. The

¹ Mat. v. 27, 28.

law is as the sword; the gospel as balm: the one duty, the other love. And that which alone is needful to attain unto the highest discovery, is, to be humbly subject, and constantly obedient, to the lowest appearance of it: 'the faithful servant becomes a son by adoption.' Wouldest thou know the word a *reconciler*, thou must first witness it an *hammer*, a *sword*, a *fire*, &c. The way to arrive at evangelical righteousness, is first to perform the righteousness of the law. By law I mean not that of politic shadows and ceremonies, or the external order or policy of the Jews; but that moral and eternal law, which is said to have come by Moses (though but repeated and renewed by him), and is accomplished by Christ. And there is great hopes, that they who conscientiously keep the beginning, will compass the end. Such as have conquered *evil doing*, if they be faithful to what they have received of God's light and spirit, it will enable them against *bad saying*, till at last they overcome *evil thinking* too; and witness that scripture fulfilled, "Judgment (the law) is brought forth into victory (the gospel). He that follows me, (the light of the world, that enlightens all men coming into the world) shall not abide in darkness, but shall have the light of life." I make not this distinction of law and gospel to distinguish in kind, but degree, and for the sake of the weak, accustomed to it. "And if the Son make you free, then are ye free in deed:" for as it is a condemner, it may be called the light that brings death, in that it slays, by the brightness of its coming into the conscience, the transgressing nature. Like unto that expression, "The day of the Lord is a day of darkness," because of the judgments and terrors of the Lord in the conscience for sin; but to the obedient, it is the "Light of life," it brings peace and consolation.

Thus is Christ, as the WORD-GOD, and light of the world, through every dispensation, *one in himself*, tho'

* John viii. 12. i. 9.

to mankind he has variously appeared, not by different lights, but different manifestations only of one and the same eternal light of life and righteousness.

C H A P. XV.

The second part of the objection, that CHRIST was not anciently called the LIGHT, answered. And the contrary proved from scripture and reason.

TO the second part of the objection, ‘ If the light ‘ in every man were *Christ*, how comes it that ‘ the *Jews* and *Greeks* never called it so?’ I answer, We do not say that the light, strictly, in every man, is Christ, but *of* or *from* Christ. He is that fulness from whence all receive a measure of divine light and knowledge; but not that every individual has the *whole* or *complete* Christ in him, so as to be no-where else! Such an absurdity never fell from us, nor is it consequent of our doctrine, though the malice of our adversaries hath charged it upon both. But as the *external sun* darts its light upon the organ of the eye of the body, by which it conveys true discerning to act about visible things; so doth the *internal sun* of *righteousness* shine upon the eye of the soul, giving it the knowledge of those invisible things which properly relate to the nature of the soul. So that we are the less obliged to give a reason why others called not the light in man *Christ*, since we renounce all share in such belief ourselves, strictly speaking. Yet thus far I will say, that Christ was called light before ever he was in the world, though not before he was Christ. “ I will “ give him for a light to lighten the Gentiles, &c.” Now if any will say that this light was not Christ, let them tell us so in plain words: but if it will be allowed, they had best ask, why the prophet, by the Holy Ghost, should call Christ “ Light,” even as soon as, if not before, he was called “ *Christ*?” And why, in that very state in which he was called “ *Christ*,” he should

should also be called *Light*?" Certain it is, then, that by "him," the light, we are to understand "Christ;" which is one and the same thing as if he had said, 'I will give CHRIST for a *light* to enlighten 'the Gentiles;' or, 'He who is the *Christ*, is the 'LIGHT; or the *light* is CHRIST.' So that it will follow, the Gentiles were enlightened by CHRIST; which is the whole of what we understand by our assertion, as to the "Light in man."

Again, John expressly calls that light, with which every man is enlightened, "the Word;" and the Word is said to have "taken flesh." If then he that took flesh was CHRIST, and consequently that body Christ's body *only*, (as none, I think, will dare deny, but Muggleton, and his credulous followers) it will follow, 'That CHRIST, who took, or appeared in, that prepared body, is the LIGHT with which every man is lighted.'

Farther, Christ himself says, "I am the light of the world:" which is as much as if he had said, 'I have lighted, or shined forth to, the world:' therefore the light which shines in the hearts of mankind, is CHRIST. Though we do not say that every particular illumination is the *entire Christ*; for so there would be as many Christs as there are men, which were absurd and blasphemous.

But lastly, the apostle himself calls him Christ, before his coming in the flesh; so that Christ was Christ before his appearance in that holy body at Jerusalem, which clears that point in controversy. For the stress of the objection, as to this particular, lies here: 'Christ, as Christ, was not before he took flesh;' therefore though it should be granted, that as the WORD-GOD, all are enlightened by him, yet not as he is CHRIST, before that visible appearance. But if Christ was not *before*, then the *manhood*, that was taken in *time*, must only be the Christ: but I would fain know such people's reasons for it. The dilemma in short is this, That such as deny Christ to have been Christ before that coming, thwart as plain a text as

the scriptures have; and if they should allow it, their opposition to our assertion must appear unsound and reprobable. Howbeit, since Christ, as the WORD-GOD, hath lighted *all men* antecedent to his coming in the flesh, (as most of our objectors confess) and that the apostle says, that "the Word was Christ," or that "Christ was before he came in the flesh;" in that Christ was, in the wilderness, "a Rock to Israel," (unless Christ and the Word are two distinct beings, or that there be two distinct Christs) Christ was "that light which lighted mankind;" and that very light with which mankind was lighted, was the "VERY CHRIST OF GOD;" and consequently the light has been called, both expressly and implicitly, *CHRIST*, before that visible appearance at Jerusalem.

Nor is the allegation of that scripture against us pertinent to the matter in hand, viz. "Which none of the princes of this world knew, &c." for that was spoken in reference to the "Wisdom which had been hid," and not to the mere manhood of Christ. But suppose his holy manhood concerned in it, we have this to say, 'That such as rejected him, and much more those that crucified him, in his outward appearance, had first despised and slain him within: they were of those, as Job said, who "rebelled against the light, and loved not the ways thereof." And I affirm, against all opposers, that it was by the sight this divine light within gave to Simeon, Peter, Nathanael, and all others who believed in him, that they truly came to confess him, and suffer for him. Yea, such as had not out-sinned their day, and finally hardened their hearts, as others by wicked works had done; but, through the light of the Lord had in good measure kept their consciences void of offence, they received and embraced him. The light knew its own: the lesser led to the greater; and the greater light as naturally attracted the lesser, as we may see fire does every day.

To conclude this particular, led me add, that they were not the princes of this world that put him *outwardly* to death; for it came by the envious and wicked accusations of the Jews (a broken conquered people) to Pilate, governor of a province only: therefore, since I believe what the apostle saith to be true, I have rather reason to infer that it was meant of Christ *mystically*, than of that visible body. However it be, that part of our adversaries objection about the light's not being called Christ, antecedent to his coming in the flesh, can be of no weight to the matter under debate, since we have so evidently made the contrary appear.

C H A P. XVI.

The third part of the objection; 'If Christ was enjoyed under the law, as he was if the light be Christ, why was he typified?' is proved of no force. The type and anti-type, in some respects, may be at one and the same time: this is proved by plenty of scripture. Our adversaries opposition and cavil weak and unsuccessful.

THE third part of the objection, and what seems at first sight to carry something of moment against us, is this? 'If the light within be Christ, and the Jews and Gentiles had it from the beginning of the world, how can Christ be said to be typified out, as not come, and prophesied of to come, when by your own principle he hath been always come?' I answer; This part of the objection is in some respect built upon the same mistake as was the second, namely, that the illumination within is *intirely* Christ; concerning which, I have plainly and truly expressed myself before. I will therefore faithfully state the question for them thus: 'Well, but still you say, Christ lighted Jews and Gentiles before that visible coming: if so, then was he come, by your own principle,

C c 3

ple,

‘ ple, whilst his coming was typified out, and prophesied of: doth not this seem a contradiction?’ But to this I say, that the supposed contradiction ariseth from the mistake of the dispensation; for it takes for granted, that there was no difference in the degree of illumination before, and at, the coming of Christ in that visible manner into the world; which all must needs confess. For as I would be understood, when I call the light *before* and *after* Christ’s coming in the flesh, LIGHT, to mean but *one* and the *self-same* light in nature; so let none apprehend, as if we made no difference, by the acknowledgment of a more eminent *manifestation* of the *same* light. What follows then? Why thus much most clearly, that under the enjoyment of the *lesser* manifestation of light, suited to the then childish state of the Jews, God was pleased to allure them after an expectation of *higher* things, by types and prophecies of that *far more* excellent and exceeding glorious dispensation of the light and love of God in after-ages.

The end of God’s giving the Israelites that outward prophet and leader Moses, was, to bring to the *inward* leader, CHRIST JESUS: and though they, through carnality and weakness, were not then sensible of him, so as to stay their minds upon him, yet Moses prophesied of him: and indeed all the external dealings of God with men, have been to bring to Christ, the *seed within*, which is able to “bruise the serpent’s head,” and did so, in some measure, through all ages. So that with good reason and truth we may assert, ‘ Christ, ‘ the light, was the rock that followed Israel in the ‘ wilderness (who is the rock of ages, and foundation of all generations, and who ever lighted all ‘ mankind, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever); ‘ yet a *greater* manifestation of that divine light might ‘ be typically preached forth under the enjoyment of ‘ the lesser.’

And that we herein are not without the suffrage of the scriptures to our defence, I would fain know, if, notwithstanding all those outward washings of those
times,

times, God did not frequently press the very substance itself, namely, "a clean heart, and a new spirit;" accounting all worship short thereof, but as "the cutting off of a dog's neck, and offering of swine's blood?" And whether Christ himself did not with his own hands give the bread and wine to his disciples, and yet bid them "do it till he came?" Whence it is easy to observe, that unless the bread and the wine are the very CHRIST, (thereby destroying the nature of a sacrament) and instead of doing it *till* he came, that he should come whenever they do *receive* it; it must be granted to us, that Christ *present* gave them a figure of Christ *to come*: therefore to figure out Christ *to come*, destroys not Christ's *being* come; especially taking our distinction of the *lesser manifestation from the greater*; which nevertheless divides not the light, but that it remains in itself, one pure, eternal being of light, and sun of righteousness, through every dispensation. And thus much that passage I have already observed from the apostle Paul, in answer to the second part of the objection, plainly clears to us: for if Christ, typified out, was their rock, or the rock of that age, even when the *brazen serpent*, the *type*, was in being, I cannot see but the type, and the thing typified, might be at one and the same time; not as to degree, but nature; for so I would be understood.

Before I conclude, take this notable saying of Christ to the Jews, and what may be collected from it to our purpose: "Before Abraham was, I am. Abraham saw my day, and rejoiced."—Which affords us briefly thus much; that though he was not so visibly come, yet it was the very same he that came above one thousand six hundred years ago, who was with the fathers of old; and that Abraham, who lived one thousand nine hundred years before that outward appearance, saw him, and his day.* If this be not the import of the place, I know none; for the Jews, not

* Isa. lxvi. 3.

* John viii. 56, 57, 58.

* Helv. Chron.

believing him to be the Messiah, thought it high presumption for him to compare with Abraham. “Art thou greater than our father Abraham, who is dead, and the prophets who are dead? Whom makest thou thyself?” said that unbelieving people: unto which he answered, (that he might prove himself to be the *true Messiah*, the Christ of God) “Abraham saw my day, and rejoiced.” They, still harping upon that visible body, or outward man, not thirty-three years old, replied, “Thou art not yet fifty, and hast thou seen Abraham?” Taking that to be the Messiah, the Christ of God, and Saviour of the world he meant, which they saw with their carnal eyes. To which he rejoined with a “Verily, verily, I say unto you, before Abraham was I am: then took they up stones to cast at him, &c.” By all which it is most clear, that unless our adversaries will deny him that so spoke to be Christ, who singled and distinguished himself as the Messiah, the Christ of God, and Saviour of the world, from that visible body, not fifty years old indeed; both Christ, that then spoke, must needs have been long before Abraham’s time, and that such holy ancients were not without a sight and prospect of him, and the day of his glorious appearance, or that most signal manifestation of himself in the body prepared for that great and holy purpose; witness the exceeding clear and heavenly prophecies in the scriptures of truth, that were as so many fore-runners or introducers of the evangelical state.

And this is unquestionably confirmed unto us, by that known and weighty expression of the apostle Paul to the Romans: “Whose are the fathers, and of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever, amen;” since here Christ is both distinguished from the body he took, and also made one with God, who is over all blessed for ever, amen. As much as to say, “of whose flesh Christ took;” therefore Christ was *before* he took it;

or his taking it only did not constitute him *Christ*; which *Christ* is *God*: and if *God* (which cannot be said of mere flesh, or any corporal lineage) then must he have been from all everlasting.

To conclude; as Abraham outward and natural was the great father of the Jews outward and natural, whose seed *God* promised to bless with earthly blessings, as Canaan, &c. and that they were figurative of the one seed *Christ*, and such as he should beget unto a lively hope, through the power of his spiritual resurrection, it will consequently follow, that this seed must be *inward* and *spiritual*; since one outward thing cannot be the proper figure or representation of another: nor is it the way of holy scripture so to teach us. The *outward* Lamb shews forth the *inward* Lamb; the Jew *outward*, the Jew *inward*. As *God* attended the one with many signal outward mercies (to say no more) above other nations, so doth he benefit the Jew in *spirit*, above all other people.

I have these two short arguments farther to prove what I believe and assert, as to the spirituality of the true seed, and a clearer overthrow it is to the opinion of our adversaries concerning the true *Christ*. First, every thing begets its *like*: what is simply *natural* produces not a *spiritual* being: *material* things bring not forth things that are *immaterial*. Now, because the nature, or image, begotten in the hearts of true believers is *spiritual*, it will follow, that the *seed*, which so begets and brings forth that birth, must be the *same* in *nature* with that which is begotten; therefore *spiritual*: then *Christ's body*, or what he had from the virgin, *strictly* considered as *suck*, was not the seed.

Secondly, It is clear from hence: the serpent is a *spirit*. Now nothing bruises the head of the serpent in man, but something that is also *internal* and *spiritual*, as the serpent is. But if *that body* of *Christ* were only the seed, then could he not bruise the serpent's head in all, because the *body* of *Christ* is not so much as in any one (though too many have weakly con-

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cluded it upon us, from a perversion or mistake of our doctrine of *Christ in man*, by his light and spirit); and consequently the seed of the promise is an *body* and *spiritual* principle of *light*, *life*, and *power*, which being received into the heart, bruise the serpent's head. And because the seed (which in this sense cannot be that body) is *Christ*, as testify the scriptures, the seed is ONE,¹ and that seed CHRIST, and Christ GOD over all, blessed for ever, we do conclude that Christ was, and is, the *divine word* of *light* and *life*, that was in the beginning *with* God, and *was* and *is* God over all, blessed for ever.

And that this may yet more evidently appear, let it but be seriously weighed, that antecedent to that visible appearance, the seed bruised, in good measure, the serpent's head, in the holy men and women of all generations; otherwise they had not been holy, but *serpentine* and *wicked*. And if the seed was *before*, and that seed be Christ, (because there is but one Christ, as well as but one seed) it doth clearly follow that Christ was Christ *before* that outward appearance; and consequently it could but be a *more excellent* and *free* manifestation of his truth, righteousness, salvation, wisdom, power, glory, and dominion; as indeed it was.

For notwithstanding that this heavenly seed was in some measure known, and what was wrought of inward deliverance in that day was by and through the power and virtue of it, as the minds of people were retired to the Word of God nigh in the heart, to cleanse and redeem; and though particular persons might arrive at great attainments, even to a beholding the day of the seed's complete redemption, and conquest over all its oppressors (when that which was but in the condition of a seed, or new-born child, should become the "Only Son, the Wonderful Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, " and the Prince of Peace, of the increase of whose

¹ Gal. iii. 16.

" govern-

“government there shall be no end,” as speaks the prophet); yet it is granted, through that good understanding the Lord hath given us in these weighty things, that the *generality* were but weak, dark, and imbondaged, as saith the apostle, under carnal and beggarly *elements*, not clearly seeing through those outward services, by which (if I may so speak) God held them in hand, condescending to their weakness, that he might both keep them from gadding after the pompous inventions and idolatrous worship of other nations, and point out unto them, under their great carnality, that *more hidden* glory and *spiritual* dispensation, which should afterwards be revealed, to wit,
 ‘ The complete redemption of the soul, and reign of
 ‘ the *holy seed*, from the Child born, and the Son
 ‘ given, to the Wonderful Counsellor, the Mighty
 ‘ God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace,
 ‘ of the increase of whose government there shall be
 ‘ no end.’

So that then we ought, and we do, by absolute force of truth, conclude, 1st. That the *seed*, which is *Christ*, was in all ages; with Abraham, with the Israelites, with the prophets; therefore he was as well *before* he came in that prepared body, as then and since. 2dly. Yet it is confessed that he was not so clearly revealed, perfectly brought forth, and generally known *before* his so coming, as then and since, but more darkly figured out by types and shadowy services; which, though they cleansed not, saved not, redeemed not, yet did they shew forth a more hidden and spiritual *substance*, that was able to cleanse, save and redeem, and actually did, all that received it, and were truly subject to it, and that both from sin and wrath. 3dly. That it therefore is not at all absurd, that the more excellent manifestation of truth should be typified and prophesied of under the enjoyment of the lesser, since the reason of the thing, and the testi-

monies of the scripture, are so exprefs for it; which ends our answer to this particular.

C H A P. XVII.

The fourth part of the objection stated and considered. Christ's death and sufferings confessed to, and respected: they were beneficial to salvation. The light of Christ within is the efficient cause of salvation completely taken.

HAVING considered the third part of this great objection, I am now come to what chiefly stumbles the people, with respect to the light within, at least as I apprehend; and that in this fourth and last particular; viz. 'But if the light in every man be Christ, how doth it bear our sins, and how are our iniquities laid upon it? and how can we be said to be justified, redeemed or saved by its blood, since all these things are spoken by the holy pen-men of the Man Christ, or Jesus born at Bethlehem? Surely you wholly invalidate his life, death, resurrection, ascension, and mediation, by this belief of yours in the light within.'

This I take to be the very stress of the matter, collected out of the most forcible writings of our adversaries: to which I answer, and let him that reads understand.

It must be considered, in this last part of the objection, how those questions can be applicable to the light, and yet be reconcileable with those scriptures that seem to attribute all to his bodily sufferings. I hope to make appear, that as we exalt the first, so we dare not by any means to slight the last.

The *light*, or rather HE that is *light in man* (for so I have always desired to be understood; light being a *metaphor*, or a word taken from the *outward day*, and chiefly so termed, because of *man's darkness*, which is thereby discovered) hath been, according to scripture,

as a “Lamb slain since the foundation of the world:” that is, the world had not long been created, before man, being envied by Lucifer the fallen angel, was betrayed of his innocency by him; and sin, by disobedience, prevailing, the *light*, or *principle of life*, under whose holy leadings man was placed, became *resisted*, *grieved*, and as it were *slain*: which word *slain* is also *metaphorical*. That is to say, the innocent pure life was, as it were, *wounded unto death*, through disobedience; and that lamb-like image, in which Adam was created, by him through rebellion lost. Thus that holy principle, which God placed in the heart of Adam, in which was true *light*, *life* and *power*, bore the sin, was *pressed* under it, as a cart under sheaves, *grieved* exceedingly, and, as it were, *quenched* with iniquity.

This hath been the condition of that precious and elect seed, spirit, light, life, truth, or whatever name equivalent any may please to give it, ever since that first rebellion, to this very day. And as, in wicked men, God’s holy light and spirit, or that principle which is so called, hath been deeply wounded, yea, as one slain; so in good men, that have had a sense of the world’s abominations, hath it also borne many burdens and weights; for the light and life is ONE in ALL, though not treated alike in all: and those who have been reformed by it, and joined to it, have been as one spirit, and have not been without their share of the Lord’s heavy sufferings from the ungodly world; which was as well a filling-up of Christ’s sufferings that were *before* his outward coming, as what to this generation are yet *behind* to be completed.

And as at any time disobedient men have hearkened to the still voice of the *word*, that messenger of God in their hearts, to be affected and convinced by it, as it brings reproof for sin, which is but a fatherly chastisement; so upon true brokenness of soul, and contrition of spirit, that very same principle and word of life in man, has *mediated* and *atoned*, and God has been propitious, lifting up the light of his countenance,
and

and replenishing such humble penitents with divine consolations. So that still the same Christ, *Word-God*, who has lighted all men, is by sin grieved and burdened, and bears the iniquities of such as so sin, and reject his benefits. But as any hear his knocks and let him into their hearts, he first wounds and then heals; afterwards he atones, mediates, and re-instates man in the holy image he is fallen from by sin. Behold this is the state of restitution! and this in some measure was witnessed by the holy patriarchs, prophets, and servants of God in old time, to whom Christ was *substantially* the same Saviour, and seed bruising the serpent's head, that he is now to us, what difference soever there may be in point of manifestation.

But notwithstanding it was the same light and life with that which afterwards clothed itself with that outward body, which did in measure inwardly appear for the salvation of the souls of men, yet, as I have often said, never did that divine life so eminently shew forth itself, as in that sanctified and prepared body: so that what he then suffered and did in that transcendent manifestation, may, by way of eminency, have the credit of the whole work unto itself that he ever did before, or might do afterwards, for man's salvation. For doubtless the *very same* light, life and power, which dwelt in that fleshly tabernacle, eminently was the Convincer, Condemner, Saviour and Redeemer: yet not only as confined to that blessed body, but also as revealed in the *hearts* of men; as he was in Paul; who, not consulting with flesh and blood, against the Lord of glory, did willingly receive him in, to bind the strong man, spoil his goods, and cast him out, that he might reign, whose right it was. And that the divine life, light, spirit, nature or principle, which resided in that body was the efficient cause of salvation, observe the title that is given him, from the great work he was to do, namely, "To save his people
" from their sins;" there is not one word of *wrath*, but consequentially. Now, since that sin is in the heart and conscience of mankind, nothing but a di-
vine

vine light, spirit or power, can reach and convey purity into those inward parts, and consequently that must be the Redeemer and Saviour from sin. But indeed, those who have a mind to naturalize that strange figure into the language of the holy truth, (I mean, that to be *saved*, is only to be saved from *wrath*, and not from sin, whose assured wages *is* wrath) may have some interest, though no reason, for their implacable enmity against an inherent holiness.

But I farther confess, that his righteous life, with respect to its appearance in that holy body, was grieved by sin, and that the weight of the iniquity of the whole world, with the concernment of its eternal well-being, lay hard upon him; nor was his manhood insensible of it. Under the load of this did he travail; alone “he trode the wine-press;” that is, all others were then insensible of that eternal wrath, which would be the portion of impenitent persons; as well that it was his great care, and deep travail, that the holy, yet oppressed seed, might arise over the pressures of iniquity in the hearts of men, to bruise the serpent’s head in all: and as outwardly he gave his outward life for the world, so he might inwardly shed abroad in their souls the blood of God; that is, the holy purifying *life* and *virtue* which is in him as the *Word-God*; and as which, he is the light and life of the world.

This was it which gave the manhood the understanding it had, and fitted it for so great an embassy; by whose power alone it fasted, prayed, preached, cast out devils, wrought miracles, lived that most unblemished life, patiently suffered death, was raised for an holy confirmation, maugre all the military opposition of the Jews: and this divine power it was which accompanied the ministry of his followers, rendering it efficacious to conviction and conversion: so that the invisible, spiritual and divine life, principle or nature, was the root and fountain of all which is sometimes ascribed in scripture to the body, by that common figure, or way of speaking amongst men, the *thing containing*,

taining, which was the body, for the *thing contained*, which was the eternal power, wisdom, life, &c. Not that we should irreverently rob the holy body of whatsoever acknowledgment is justly due, nor yet separate that which God hath joined: though I confess, with holy fear, I dare not attribute that to an external prepared being, which is the natural, proper, and only work of the divine light and life to operate and effect. But certainly, if some men in scripture are entitled *saviours*, because of the contribution of their trials, travails and labours towards the salvation of mankind, of much more right is that honour ascribable to him “who had the spirit without measure:” for I do freely acknowledge the holy manhood to have been, in some sense, a co-worker and partner with the divine life in those trials, weights, sufferings, and travails for mankind. Yet, as it was the divine power that gave them weight in that great work, so was it the divine life in him which made that holy manhood what it was; and therefore ought we, *chiefly*, to appropriate the salvation to Christ as the *Word-God*, and to the holy manhood but secondarily and instrumentally; I mean, as it was a *chosen instrument* or *vessel*, in and by which God declared the blessed glad tidings of love, and his message of reconciliation to the world; in which he gave the most heavenly example of purity, and through whose whole life, doctrine, and death, did shine forth the clearest evidences of truth, goodness, mercy, patience, deep travail for the world, self-denial, holiness, and triumphant martyrdom.

No wonder then if he be called a *Saviour*, who not only came on an embassy of salvation, but when come did draw many after him, who were struck with the authority of his sayings, and whom he allowed for a time to have their eyes and hearts upon him, as in that state present with them; but afterwards, he let his disciples know, of how much benefit it would be to them, that he should leave them: how? for ever, and in all capacities? No: but as with respect to his *outward* appearance, that being scattered, in that day,
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to their own measure of light, power, and life, they might know him "no more after the *flesh*," but witness him come into their hearts a Comforter, who would not leave his true-hearted disciples comfortless. "He that is *with* you, shall be *in* you."

To be brief, that I may yet again express our reverent sense of Christ's manifestation, so far as relates to that holy thing that should be born of Mary, take these few particulars in my next chapter.

C H A P. XVIII.

A confession, in particular, to redemption, remission, justification, and salvation by Christ.

I. **T**HOUGH we believe the eternal *power, life,* and *light*, which inhabited that Holy Person who was born at Bethlehem, was and is chiefly and eminently the *Saviour* (for "there is no Saviour besides ME," saith God); yet we reverently confess the holy manhood was instrumentally a Saviour, as prepared and chosen for the work that Christ, the *Word-God*, had then to do in it, which was actually to the salvation of some, then, and intentionally of the whole world, then, and in ages to come; suitable to that scripture, "Lo, in the volume of the book it is written, I come to do thy will, O God; a body hast thou prepared me," &c.

II. That as there was a necessity that "One should die for the people," so whoever then or since believed in him, had and have a seal, or confirmation, of the *remission of their sins in his blood*; and that *blood*, alluding to the custom of the Jewish sacrifices, shall be an *utter blotting out* of former iniquities, carrying them as into a land of forgetfulness. This great assurance of remission, from the wrath due upon the

* John xiv. 16, 17.

* Hos. xiii. 4.

* Heb. x. 5, 7.

score of former offences, do all receive in the ratifying blood of Christ; who, repenting of their sins, believe and obey the holy light with which he hath lighted them. For Paul's being turned from darkness to the light in his heart, was one and the same with his believing in the Son of God "revealed in his heart."

III. This more glorious appearance ended that less glorious service of the Jews; for the figures being completed, the shadows fell. He, in that body, preached and lived *beyond* those beggarly *elements*: he drew religion more inward, even into the secret of the heart, and made it to consist in an higher state of righteousness, called *evangelical*; and at once became both the author of a more heavenly dispensation, and therein an example to all, as well *Jews* as *Gentiles*; sealing such a common and general religion to both with his blood, as would for ever end the *difference* and slay the *enmity*, that they might be all one in Christ. Thus did he end the Jews external services, and overturn the Gentiles idolatries, by his one most pure and spiritual offering and worship.

IV. It plainly preaches thus much to us, that as he whose body the Jews outwardly slew, was, by wicked works, crucified in the streets of Sodom and Egypt spiritually so called, (viz. our polluted hearts and consciences;) so, unless we come to know the power and benefit of this inward life, answering to, and expressed by, that outward life he gave for the world, that will avail us little. For so it is, and very marvellous in our eyes, that the LIFE of the crucified can only *save* those who may well be reputed the crucifiers. O mystery! And because those that did not actually slay him outwardly, have slain him inwardly, (that is, by their evil spirits resisting and quenching his *spiritual appearance* to their souls) therefore must such really know that *divine life* inwardly *raised* and shed abroad for sanctification and redemption from sin. O how great was his love to man! Truly larger than man's cruelty;

cruelty; who whilst he died *by* wicked men, died *for* them; and when dead, they could not hinder him from *rising* to do them *good*, who had done their worst for his destruction; thereby shewing mercy to those, who shewed they had no mercy for him nor themselves. “O Jerusalem! Jerusalem! *how often* would I have gathered thee, and thou *wouldest* not!” &c.

V. That expression of his is greatly worth our notice, “I lay down my *life* for the world.” All he did was for the *good* of the world, and particularly the laying down of his life, that he might both express his *love* and our *duty*. Had he not desired man’s salvation, and for that purpose prepared a *body*, in which to *visit* him, and by his daily labours among men to further their eternal happiness, the Jews had never been able to put him to death. But being come, and when come so hardly used, herein did he recommend his great love to us, that besides the inward weights of sin he bore, with his deep concernment for man’s eternal well-being, he *cheerfully* offered up his *bodily life*, to recommend and ratify his love for the remission of sin, and gave us an holy example to follow his steps. But these words will bear another sense too, as do those he spoke to the Jews, “Unless ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, you have no life in you:” where we may plainly see, that as the Jews vainly and carnally fancied he meant his outward body only, to which they opposed the impossibility of the thing; so Christ declares their mistake of his meaning to his disciples, in these few, but deep words, “The *flesh* profiteth nothing; it is the *spirit* that quickeneth.” So that the words are true, and weighty in both senses.

VI. And we farther acknowledge, that in that holy body the divine principle of light and life did discover the depths of Satan’s darkness, encounter hell,

* John vi. 51, 52, 53, 54, 62, 63.

death, and the grave, and every temptation it was possible for the serpent, with all his power and subtlety, to beset him with, (in which sense "he was made like unto us in all things, sin excepted, that he might be sensible of our infirmities)" yea, the divine life travailed under all, administering strength to, and supporting the outward man, that it might answer the end of its appointment, and in the end utterly defeat, and for ever overcome, the power of the tempter, "bruising the Serpent's head in *general*," as prince of darkness, and god of the world, and in a plain combat giving him that foil, which in good measure shook his foundation, divided his kingdom, chased away his lying oracles, and proved a very fatal blow to his whole empire. Which holy conquest, obtained by "sweat of blood, and deepest agonies, with holy patience," may not unfitly be compared to that of some worldly prince maintaining a righteous cause against an usurper of his territories, whom he puts to rout in the open field (by which I understand the general conquest) yet many towns, and cities, and citadels, remaining strongly garrisoned (by which I understand particular men and women enslaved by sin) they are not thereby overcome, though the approach be easier to them, and that they are truly more accessible than before.

The one seed, who is Christ, "who is God over all blessed for ever," though he gave this proof of his everlasting arm, that it has brought a general salvation, by a plain overthrow of "the god of this world," the enemy of his glory, and thereby weakened his power, as in himself (which is the *single* battle, "fought in garments rolled in blood," between the two seeds, spirits, natures and powers, God and Mammon, Christ and Belial) yet there are also many towns, cities, and citadels to vanquish, which are strongly garrisoned by this god of the world, to wit, the souls of men and women possessed and enslaved by him: so that though their hearts are more accessible by that general victory over the very spirit of darkness, and
that

that light may be more clear and broken forth, yet unless those *particular* places, or persons, are besieged and taken, their goods spoiled, and houses sacked of all their strange gods, and so come to be redeemed from under the yoke of that Pharaonian task-master, reclaimed, renewed, sanctified, and divinely naturalized, and brought into an holy subjection to him who is "Lord from heaven, the right heir of all things," and "receive *his* mark, and bear *his* image," those places, or persons, must needs be under the power of the prince of darkness, the god of this world, who reigns and rules in the hearts of the children of disobedience.

To conclude; we say, though this general victory was obtained, and holy privileges therewith, and that the holy body was instrumentally a sharer therein; yet both the efficient or chiefest cause was the *divine light* or *life*, that so clearly discriminated and deeply wounded this mystery of iniquity; and that none can be thereby benefited, but as they come to experience the holy seed of life, who is "God's mighty ARM of power," revealed to effect the same salvation from sin in each particular conscience; and which none can fail of, who first receive it as "a light that manifesteth and reproveth every evil way," and continue to walk up to it in all its holy manifestations.

VII. But there is yet a farther benefit that accrueth by the blood of Christ, viz. 'That Christ is a propitiation and redemption to such as have faith in him.' For though I still place the stress of feeling, of a *particular* benefit, upon the *light, life, and spirit* revealed and witnessed in every particular person, yet in that general appearance there was a general benefit justly to be attributed unto the *blood* of that very body of Christ which he offered up through the Eternal Spirit, to wit, that it did *propitiate*. For, however it might draw stupendous judgments upon the heads of those who were authors of that dismal tragedy and bloody murder of the Son of God, and died repentant; yet

doubtless it is thus far turned to very great account, in that it was a *most precious offering* in the sight of the Lord, and drew God's love the more eminently unto mankind, at least such as should believe in his name; as his solemn prayer to his Father at his leaving the world, given us by his beloved disciple, doth plainly witness.

For how can it otherwise be, but that it should render God most propitious to all such as believe in Christ, the light of the world, when it was but placing of his only begotten Son's sufferings truly on their account that should ever believe and obey him? Yea, doubtless, greatly did that sacrifice influence to some singular tenderness, and peculiar regard, unto all such who should believe in his name, being the last and greatest of all his external acts, viz. 'The resisting unto blood, or the spiritual good of the world, thereby offering up his life upon the cross, through the power of the Eternal Spirit, that remission of sin, (God's bounty to the world) might be preached in his name, and in his very *blood* too, as that which was the most ratifying of all his bodily sufferings.' And indeed, therefore might it seem meet to the Holy Ghost, that redemption, propitiation, and remission, should be declared and held forth in the blood of Christ unto all that have right faith therein, as saith the apostle to the Romans, "Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood:" and to the Ephesians; "In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins," &c. because it implies a firm belief that Christ was come in the *flesh*, and that none could then have him as their propitiation or redemption, who withstood the acknowledgment of, and belief in, his *visible* appearance, which John tells us some denied. 2. That he came in order to the remission, redemption, and salvation of the world. 3. That his so dying was both an evident token of his love, and a strong argument

of confirmation of his message and work. 4. That it might the better end the Jews shadowy services, by an allusion to the way of their temporary and typical sacrifices, as the whole epistle to the Hebrews sheweth. 5. And that by bringing (through the holy light in every particular) into the acknowledgment of, and belief in, the blood, which was ratifying of that whole appearance, men might be brought unto the knowing Christ after a more inward and spiritual manner, suitable to Christ's own words, "It is the Spirit that quickens;" and the apostle avers, that "the Lord from heaven is that quickening Spirit;" by which eternal Spirit he offered up himself without spot. Nor can any reasonably suppose, that when Christ so spoke to his disciples, explanatorily of what he had obscurely and in parables said to the Jews, that he meant not something more hidden and divine than what they and the Jews saw; yet that which hindered those Jews from the knowledge or benefit thereof, was their stumbling at him, without a confessing of whom they could never come into the beholding or experiencing of his divine life in them.

To conclude; that body was the divine LIFE's; "A *body* hast thou prepared ME;" therefore all that was done by that body, towards the redemption of mankind, was *eminently* the divine life's: yet because oftentimes actions are denominated from, or appropriated to, the instrument, as the next cause, though not the efficient or most eminent cause; therefore the scripture speaks forth (as indeed is the propriety of both the Hebrew and Greek tongues) parabolically, hyperbolically, metaphorically, the inward substance and hidden life of things, by things more exterior and obvious to the sense, to the end that such mysteries might be the better accommodated to vulgar capacities. Consider what I say, with this qualification, that *ultimately* and *chiefly*, not *wholly* and *exclusively*, the divine life in that body was the Redeemer: for the sufferings of that holy body of Jesus had an engaging and procuring virtue in them, though the divine life

was that fountain from whence originally it came. And as the life declared and preached forth itself through that holy body, so they who did then come to the benefit procured by the divine life, could only do it through an hearty confession to it as appearing in that body, and that from a sense first begotten by a measure of the same in themselves.

This is the main import of those places; “whom
“ God hath set forth to be a propitiation,” and “in
“ whom we have redemption through faith in his
“ blood.” For who is this *he*, whom God hath set forth, and in whom is redemption? Certainly the same *he* that was before Abraham, the rock of the fathers, that cried, “Lo, I come to do thy will, O God; a
“ body hast thou prepared me;” which was long before the body was conceived and born. But may some say, ‘How is it then his blood?’ Why, just as the body is his body.

Those who had faith in that blood, believed his visible appearance, inasmuch as they acknowledged that great seal and ratification of it, to wit, the shedding of the blood of his body, who came to save the world, and who alone is the propitiation, redemption, and salvation of all who had and have right faith in that appearance, and message so confirmed, and therefore so often expressed by it, as including all his whole life and sufferings besides. And this is my reason for it, that it was impossible for any man, in that day, to confess to and believe in the divine light and life which appeared in that prepared body, but from the inward discoveries and operations of the divine light, with which Christ the Word-God, who took flesh, had enlightened him.

However, though the apostles might then so express themselves, thereby to assert and recommend unto the faith of all, that eminent and blessed manifestation, and the great love of Christ therein, as the visitation of the heavenly life through that prepared

^a Rom. iii. 25. ^b Heb. x. 5, 7.

body, and the deep sufferings of both for the world, being true and spiritual witnesses thereof; yet it was never intended that they should barely rest there, but press after the knowledge of Christ, by faith, in something farther, and beyond that body in which he appeared, not excluding our belief in that too. They who knew Christ after the flesh, were to press after some more spiritual discovery of him; and it was expedient that they, who almost doted upon his outward manifestation, should be weaned from it, to the end his more interior, and indeed beneficial revelation of himself, might be witnessed by the soul.

Faith in his blood was requisite, that they might confess him, whose body and blood it was, to be the CHRIST, who is God over all, blessed for ever; which was the great question with the Jews, ‘Whether God was truly manifested in that body of flesh, which they saw?’ So that the stress lies in confessing to the *Divinity* come in the *flesh*; otherwise they would have rejected not only the most signal suffering of the whole manifestation, but consequently that itself. To conclude, we confess, *he* who then appeared, was and is the propitiation, &c. and in him was redemption obtained, by all those who had such true faith in his blood: but still it is to be understood, that there must be a witnessing of a measure of the same light, spirit and power, to appear for the redemption of the soul from the pollution of sin, in each particular.

VIII. That justification came by faith in his blood, is clear in a sense; for by the law could no flesh be justified: that is, the law being added because of transgression, certainly the transgressor could not be justified, *whilst such*, by that law which condemned him *for being such*. Which puts me upon distinguishing betwixt justification, as it is sometimes taken, viz. for remission, pardon, or forgiveness of sin past upon repentance; and that justification which implies an *acceptance with*, and an *access to*, God, as a keeper of the law of the spirit of life; which is ‘to be made inherently just, righteous, or holy.’

In the first sense, since all have sinned, no man can be *justified* by the *law he has transgressed*: therefore that great favour and mercy of remission, pardon, and forgiveness, was only then generally preached in the name of Jesus, which such as believed in his message should obtain. Thus, “by the work of the law
“ shall no flesh be justified;” because all the righteousness man is capable of, cannot make satisfaction for any unrighteousness he hath committed; since what he daily *doth*, is but what he daily *owes*. But still, such as *keep* the law are justified: for that a man should be condemned both for transgressing and keeping the law too, would be very hard. What shall we say then, but that justification in the first sense, since Adam’s day to this, hath been God’s *free love*, upon repentance? and above all, that by Christ’s visible appearance and suffering, and in his name, was remission, pardon, or forgiveness preached, or held forth to the whole world, upon their *believing* therein, more eminently than ever.

But in the last sense, no man can be justified, but as he is *made just*, and is found *actually doing the will of God*: that justifies; that is it which gives acceptance with, and access to God. In this sense it was the apostle said, “Such as are the *doers* of the law
“ shall be justified;” and not from the guilt of what they formerly did *against* it by their after *keeping* it; for that is the free love of God alone, upon the repentance of the creature; which hath been in all former ages, but never so eminently held forth to the world, as by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ in the flesh.

So that thus far we can approach the honestest sort of professors of religion; or rather, we were herein never at a distance from them, viz. ‘That men may
‘ be *reconciled*, and in a sense *justified*, while sin may
‘ not be totally destroyed:’ that is, God, upon their repenting of past sins, though not then clearly purged from the *ground* of evil, may, and we believe doth, *remit, pardon, or forgive* former offences, and is thus
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far reconciled: that is, he ceaseth to be angry, or at a distance from them, as when they went on in a state of disobedience to the light. Yet for ever we must affirm, that no man or woman can be made a child of God, but as the new birth, regeneration, and the divine and heavenly image comes to be witnessed, through the putting off the old man and his deeds, and being baptized, by the Holy Ghost and fire, into the one holy body, of which Christ, the immaculate Lamb of God, is Head and Lord. So that all those who apply to themselves, or others, the promises due to this state, unto that before mentioned, heal themselves or others deceitfully; and God will judge for those things. So let all people consider with sobriety and moderation, if the things we assert are not most agreeable to the scripture, and that light of truth which is in their own consciences, unto which we most of all desire to be made manifest.

IX. Nor is this all the good the coming and sufferings of that blessed manhood brought unto the world: for having been enabled so effectually to perform the will of God, living; and having so patiently suffered the will of wicked men, dying; therein freely offering up his most innocent life for the world; he certainly “obtained exceeding great and precious gifts;” which, as every man comes to believe in the light wherewith Christ Jesus hath enlightened him, and to be led by it, he shall assuredly feel a *particular* benefit to himself, accruing from that *general* one procured by Christ, who so laid down his life for the world.

In short, as we cannot but acknowledge him a Saviour in that very manifestation, or coming in that prepared body, who appeared so extraordinarily to visit the world with his marvellous light and truth, and to turn their minds from error and darkness, and who actually converted and reclaimed many, and endued his followers with his own heavenly light, life, and power, whereby to supply his exterior absence with a most lively, piercing and effectual ministry, for the completing of the rest from generation to generation.

neration; so must we needs attribute this, chiefly, to the divine light, life, and power, that through the manhood, of both Lord and servants, shined forth and revealed itself to the salvation of the world.

Nor are we yet, as hath been often hinted (to speak strictly) to ascribe the *particular* salvation of every man's soul to the appearance of that same light in nature, in either lord or servant (albeit many were reached into their very hearts and consciences at *that* time, and great and mighty things were generally procured, and Christ in that manifestation became the Author of salvation unto many); but rather, as he is the light of men *individually*, he both then did, and now doth, appear in the *hearts* and *consciences* of men, unto the awakening of them, and turning their minds from the darkness of tradition, formality, and sin, which had, and doth, overcast and darken the soul, unto that blessed light in men, that thereby (as to *them*) suffered, and doth yet suffer, so great and tedious an eclipse: I say, this is the *efficient* cause of salvation; and all other exterior visitations, and ministries of assistance, though from the same light, are, in respect of the light in every single man or woman, but *instrumental* and *secondary*.

In this sense then, man is only a saviour instrumentally; but Christ, both with reference to his bodily appearance, and in the ministry of his servants, is the *most excellent means*, and the *only efficient cause*, of salvation, as revealed and obeyed in the consciences of men. So that the question is not, Whether Quakers deny any benefit to redound by Christ's bodily sufferings? but, Whether the professors allow and acknowledge the *main* of the work to the *divine life* and *light*?

In short, he was a *general* Saviour in that eminent appearance at Jerusalem, in which he did so many great and good things for *mankind*; and he is an *effectual* Saviour to every *particular person*, as we find him in our hearts, an holy *light*, shewing sin, reproofing for it, and converting from it, into the holy nature of
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the light, Christ Jesus, to be flesh of *his* flesh, and bone of *his* bone.

Thus have I declared, according to my understanding, grounded upon my *experience*, and that *illumination* God has given me, in love and moderation, the very truth, weight and tendency of the outward coming of Christ, and his deep sufferings by and for the world: and also the nature of his inward coming into the souls of men, to expel the darkness that lodged there, and give unto them the "Light of life." In both which respects I confess him to be the Saviour of the world in *general*, and the Saviour of each man in *particular*; but that the benefit accruing to men from him as the *general* Saviour, is only known and received by such as witness him a *particular* Saviour; and this I will abide by: for "Christ *in* man becometh the hope of glory," and man's being "changed into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord," is the salvation and perfection of every true Christian.

C H A P. XIX.

That Christ is the light, or the light is Christ, proved from scripture, and so concluded; notwithstanding two objections, which are fully answered.

THAT which remains to complete our scriptural discourse of the divine light, is to pronounce it that which our enemies despise to call it, and do not a little undervalue both us and it, because we do; I mean *Christ*. Not that the manifestation of light in every conscience is the *intire* Christ, but that Christ, the Word-God, is that "Light of righteousness, which lighteth all men;" for which the scripture is most express in that so well-known (but little believed) passage, delivered to us by the beloved disciple, who

best knew what his Lord was, and stood in no need of any of their information how to denominate or rightly characterize him; although they and others implicitly accuse him of weakness, obscurity, nay, error, if not blasphemy too; who make it all this (and if it were possible more) in a poor Quaker, for only believing, on pure conviction, this one weighty passage, “That
“ was the true light, which enlightens all mankind
“ coming into the world.”

I have so thoroughly handled this matter, in a late book, intituled, “The Spirit of Truth Vindicated,” that I need the less to enlarge at this time, to which I refer the reader for satisfaction, concerning some objections raised against the place. However, I will briefly consider it here; and that our believing Christ to be an universal and sufficient light, and that light to be Christ, may stand in the view of the world upon so good a foundation as the testimony of that divine and well-beloved apostle, I shall observe that two things are commonly urged against our understanding of the first nine verses of John, as they respect the light.

1. Some say, That the light here spoken of is not a supernatural, and consequently no saving light, but the light of common reason: others call it of nature, decayed by the fall; and what conviction ariseth thence, is only the imperfect remains of that natural light, which these men, who thus speak, grant *all* have, as well before, as after Christ’s coming in the flesh.

2. Others say, That this is indeed an universal and saving light, but they restrain it to Christ’s *visible* appearance; and make the *all* to be all those only that shall *believe*; and the *world* to be the new *spiritual* world Christ came to create, by saving knowledge, which believers come into.

I will briefly answer both, and therein as well all those who hold the former, as those who maintain the latter.

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It is agreed by the first sort, that in the beginning of this chapter Christ's eternal divinity is declared by the evangelist; since some of them tell us out of Eusebius, that it was written on that very occasion; one Cerinthus then denying any such thing.

“ The Word which was with God, and was and is “ God.” This *God*, the same person tells us in his first epistle, “ is *light* :” that “ by him all things were “ made ;” among the rest, mankind. He then tells us, that “ this Word had life ;” and from thence descends to inform us what the Word was with respect to man : “ in Him,” the Word, “ was life, and the “ life was the light of men :” and that, as such, He was “ that true light (and not *John*, who only came “ to bear witness of that true light) which lighteth “ all mankind coming into the world.”

That this light is divine, and no otherwise natural than as it is *Christ's* nature, or natural to the world, I shall thus prove :

Man is here supposed to *be* before he was *lighted* ; therefore whatever was proper and natural to man, *as* man, he had *before* he was enlightened ; that is, ‘ He ‘ had a reasonable soul, endued with intelligent facul- ‘ ties, and that cloathed with a body fitted with sen- ‘ sible organs : the latter differed him from inanimate, ‘ the former from irrational creatures.’ But still the light, with which this soul is lighted, in reference to God, and things appertaining to its eternal well-being, belongs not to man, *as* man. Surely, then, this light must be *superadded* ; that is, over and above man's composition as a mere *understanding* creature ; and consequently, it must descend from above, and in this sense be supernatural. ‘ Thus the Word created all ‘ things ; and among them, made man, and lighted ‘ man with a supernatural light.’

That this light was not only over and above man's nature, but is also of a divine and saving one in itself, I prove from its being the LIFE of the WORD. For

^a John i. 1, 2, 3, 5, 9.

if the life of the Word be the light of men, here is no such thing as descending to an effect to prove the light divine (as that the life should bring forth a light; and therefore this light is divine, because the life of the word, that produced it, is so); I say, without going to an effect for a proof of the light's divinity, I thus undeniably prove it from the life itself; "for that VERY divine LIFE is the light." Not that it *createth* a light, or *brings forth* a light, as a cause doth an effect; but is ITSELF that very light. So that unless they will make that life *natural*, (I mean, as they do, *created*, though very improperly, for a divine life is *natural* to Christ) they cannot conclude the light, which is that very same *life itself*, to be a mere *natural* light.

If, then, the very life of the Word be the light of men; then, unless the life of the Word be natural, the light of men must be *supernatural*, divine, and infinite, as it becomes the life of the Word (which is God) to be.

The life of the Word being then the light of men, and that without any descent, and consequently divine, I have no need to prove it saving, till our opposers have divided *saving* from *divine*. However, let me briefly say, that it being a measure of the true light, so called by way of excellency, far transcending *John* (for as such is He preferred who is the Enlightener) and that it was through John all should believe in him; and lastly, that to those who received him as the Universal Enlightener, or the true light, "He gave power to become the Sons of God," it will unanswerably follow; that the light is saving. And indeed I have, with multiplied arguments and testimonies, made appear from scripture and story, the universality and sufficiency of that divine light. Such then that say it is decayed, because they are so themselves, methinks resemble those at sea, who, being under sail, fancy the shore moves. The fault is in

the eye, blinded by the god of the world, and not in that blessed light, which shines unprofitably upon the blind, through their own blindness got by disobedience. Let them, by unfeigned repentance, be unscaled, and the sun will give proof of its light. Darkness ought not to charge the light, but itself, that it sees not. Some confess *all* are enlightened; but deny the sufficiency thereof; and refuse to be ruled by it, and live up to it. Let them first obey it, before they despise it; and prove themselves above it, before they throw it so far below a Christian: they may be then allowed to blame the light as impotent, or imperfect, when they outlive it, or can live uncondemned of it, and that experience tells us its insufficiency to well-living: it is vain to undervalue that which chargeth both with duty omitted, and sin committed.

However, this stands sure, that the life of the Word is the light of men, and consequently divine; and there I will leave this first sort of men, and their fruitless opposition.

To the second interpretation given, destructive of that scope we say the text has, I return thus much:

That because the light of men was the life of the Word, which Word was God, by whom all things were created; and that *all men* are mentioned in that place controverted, which presupposeth no farther qualification in order to have this light, than being born (one of that *all men*) into this world; I conclude, that it is not only a most false, but injurious notion, to assert the commencement or being of that light to men only to be from the coming of Christ in the flesh.

Besides, since this relates to the *whole man*; which word begins with Adam, and ends with the last of man's race; I cannot conceive how that exposition can be valid: for then *John* would have been before *Christ*, instead of *Christ's* being before *Abram*: whereas, therefore is *John* denied to be that light, because that true light, by way of excellency, was the enlightener

of *all men*, yea, of John himself; and therefore called, “That *true light*,” that is, the fountain of all light, light *itself*, from whom all derive, but he derives from *none*.

And to say nothing at this time of the miserable estate those of mankind must labour under antecedently to Christ’s coming in the flesh, let it be considered, that these first nine verses in John relate not in the least to his *fleshy* appearance, from whence those men would date both his original, and man’s illumination; but are a continued series of the highest proofs of his *divinity*, that we might as well know what he was *before* he came, as when he *did* come; and the one was an introduction to the other. Neither is it fair for these men to allegorize Christ out of his divinity, and yet deny us any allegory to prove it. If they deny meanings elsewhere, let them do so here: it misbecomes men that have their wits, to rack them to prop fancy.

Farther let me add, that as He who then came into the world, was the same that *created* that world into which he came, and therefore previous, or before such coming; so neither can it hold that the world, into which man comes, is the *new* creation, since it is not said, “who *believe*,” which is usually joined to things of that importance, (“believe and be saved,” &c.). Nor can such as do not believe, be totally excluded from being lighted; since the wicked could not rebel against it, if they had it not; neither mens evil actions be reprov’d without it: so that all such notions are foreign both from scripture and reason.

We shall conclude then, ‘That Christ, the Word-God, is the light of the world, and that all are enlightened by Him, the eternal Sun of righteousness; therefore the light of men is Christ, (for to him) Christ, or the true light, John testified, who gives wicked men to see their unrighteousness, and who leads good men on in the way of holiness, which,

‘ John i. 10. John iii. 19. Eph. v. 13.

‘ per-

‘ persevered in, brings unquestionably to eternal happiness; and without which, all imputation of general acts of righteousness, performed by Christ *without* us, will avail nothing for salvation in the great and terrible day of God’s inquest and judgment, when all shall be judged, not by the deeds any *other* hath done for them (wholly *without* them) but according to the deeds done in their *own* mortal bodies.’

This subject I shall conclude, with a few reasons for the universality and sufficiency of the light within; that we may not only be seen to have the scriptures of truth, and other authorities, but reason also (which is more universal) on our side too.

C H A P. XX.

The universality of the LIGHT Within, proved by reason.

THAT there is an universal light, the universality of all ages hath plentifully testified. There is nothing more constant now, that can plead either such antiquity, or general consent: not a nation in the world ever knew an age, in which it was destitute of such a discovery of internal light, as gave them to discern evil from good; that virtue was not ever most commendable, and vice above all things pernicious and damnable. This is matter of fact, which I have already proved, and the most barbarous of nations now inhabited, are a clear demonstration of what I say. I conclude, therefore, since both wicked and good men, in all ages, have confessed to well and ill doing, and that this depends upon the discovery of the divine light of Christ, which manifests every reproveable action; that none of mankind are exempted from this illumination.

But again, it is highly consistent with the goodness of God, and order of his creation; since it seems unreasonable that men should have the benefit of a na-

tural sun, which shines on the just and unjust, by which to direct their steps, and securely transact all temporal affairs; and yet that their souls should be left destitute of a spiritual luminary, or sun of righteousness; when, in comparison of the salvation of a single soul, Christ counts the world of no value. The soul then hath eyes as well as the body; and as men may see, if they please, when the sun is in the outward firmament, unless they wilfully close their eyes, so may all rational souls see, if they will, by their *eye* of REASON, that *spiritual* sun, which gives as true discerning and direction to the mind, how to think and desire, as the natural sun doth to the body, how to act and walk aright.

Were not this true, men would miserably charge God with neglect to his creatures; for since it is to be supposed that God made nothing but with a design it should acknowledge a Creator, after its respective nature; and that man's duty was peculiar, namely, divine homage and worship, expressed generally by a life corresponding with that Being which made him, it is just that we believe God hath endued mankind with something that is divine, in order to it; since otherwise man would be destitute of that which should enable him to perform that duty, without which he could not please or rightly acknowledge God. If then all mankind ought to worship, fear, and reverence God, certainly all mankind have an *ability* from God so to do, or else perfect impossibilities are expected, man of himself being a most impotent creature. But certainly it can never stand with the rectitude and justice of the eternal God, to expect from man what he never gave him power to do, or the improvement of a talent he never had. In short, if we ought to think that God is to be revered and worshipped, we must agree that God endued mankind with a divine light and knowledge, in order to that end, or say with the man in Matthew, "God is an hard master, and austere Lord, he reaps where he never sowed." But I am almost afraid that the principles
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and prejudice of some incline them rather to think hardly of God, than favourably of the light. How ill doth it become those to object an impossibility of the light's bearing their iniquities, who are daily *wounding* it with their rebellions?

But they object 'Some deny they have it; and others, by their dissolute lives, shew they are void of it.' To which I say, it is not impossible for a life of worldly care and pleasures, and downright debauchery, to darken and quite blind that eye which only sees the light of truth, and, being kept single, preserves the body full of light; but this makes no alteration in the LIGHT: if, through repentance and contrition, the scales fall off, the light refuses not itself to the eye that can and will see it; the light remains unaltered, it is man that changes. Would the running mad of some men be a good argument to prove mankind irrational? Neither is it any demonstration against the universality of the light within, because some have, by the stupefying of sin, rendered themselves insensible of it.

Nor doth ill living disprove the sufficiency of the light, though it prove disobedience to it. Is it good logick, 'that because a wicked man will not *receive* good advice, therefore he never *had* it?' And what better reason can it be to say, 'Men disobey the light; therefore they never had it,' whilst that proves they had it, at least as a condemner? A man may be said to be lighted, when he knows and does not his duty; but rather, I confess, when he becomes a better man by such illumination. In the first sense, all are illuminated; in the last, only such as follow to obey the light; for they will find their understandings illuminated, and their hearts mended, of which the disobedience of others deprives them. In short, all have light to reprove, unless they have quite put out their eyes; but only such have it beneficially, as their teacher and director, who receive it in the love of it.

Since then the consent of mankind, the goodness and justice of God, and the reason of the thing itself,

plead so strongly for the universality of this light, I need say the less, and shall descend to consider its sufficiency.

C H A P. XXI.

The sufficiency of the LIGHT proved by reason.

BECAUSE as well the sufficiency, as universality of the light, is struck at by our adversaries, it will not, I hope, seem amiss if I say something briefly to it; though much of what I have said about the other may be referred to this.

That the universal light is also sufficient, is a belief so reasonable and necessary, that the opposite opinion must needs impeach the justice of God. All grant, that God has made man rational, capable, in some measure, of the knowledge of his Creator; which his bare capacity would never have given him, unless God had pleased to have made some discovery of himself, suitable to that created capacity in the creature. Certainly then, since God desires not that the creature should receive a wrong impression of him, while he requires universal fear and reverence, he must needs have given some certain and sufficient discovery and measure to the creature, in order to it, by those lively manifestations, and most sensible touches of the light to and upon the soul, which cannot but be true, clear, and, if minded, efficacious: for that God should require men to serve him, and not give them what is sufficient, is worse than not to give at all; since man's not obeying such discoveries, is not so great an aggravation of his neglect, as the imperfection of them is, either of the insufficiency, or unwillingness of him that made them, do otherwise. What is this but to say, that God expects homage from men, as their sovereign Lord, and that they live uprightly in the world, and yet he has not given them
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ability to do it? He pronounces such miserable who conform not themselves to an holy life, but gives no power to avoid the curse? In short, though reason tells us he made none purposely to destroy them, but rather that he might be glorified in their salvation, which he also is said to invite men to; yet that he designs nothing less, by leaving all mankind under the faintings of an impossible success. But as such dismal consequences belong not to the truth, so we are well assured, the light, of which we speak, has ever been sufficient to the end for which it has been given, in every age, both to manifest evil, condemn for it, and redeem from the power and pollution of it, by the holy operation of its power, all those who are the diligent disciples of it. For it seems most unreasonable that the spirit of darkness should be sufficient to draw into sin, and yet that the spirit and light of Christ should not be sufficient to redeem and save from it. Since therefore we cannot admit of any insufficiency in the light within, but at the same time we must suppose, 1st, That whilst God would be rightly worshipped, he has too darkly discovered the way how to do it aright; and 2dly, That his gift is impotent; and 3dly, That man is required to do what he has no power to perform; and 4thly, That whilst God requires man to serve him, he hath not so much as shewn him what way he ought to do it (which are consequences most unworthy of God); we rather chuse to sit down contented with this belief, ‘ That
 ‘ God, who made man, and has given him a soul
 ‘ capable of knowing and serving his Maker, hath
 ‘ also endued him with divine knowledge, by a *super-*
 ‘ *added* light and power, and enabled him thereby to
 ‘ live subservient to that knowledge: that God’s gift
 ‘ is perfect and sufficient for that work; and that such
 ‘ as are led by it, must needs be led to God; unto
 ‘ whom the divine light naturally tends, and attracts,
 ‘ as that from whom it came; which is certainly a
 ‘ state of blessed immortality.’

In short, accept, reader, of these few arguments, comprehensive of these two chapters, and indeed of most of what goes before.

1. God requires no man to do any thing he has not given him first light to know, and then power to do. But God requires every man to fear him, and work righteousness: therefore he has given every man both a discovery of his will, and power to do it.

2. No man ought to worship the true God ignorantly: but every man is commanded to worship God: therefore he is to do it knowingly.

3. No man can know God, but God must discover it to him, and that cannot be without light: therefore every man has light.

4. This light must be sufficient, or God's gifts are imperfect, and answer not the end for which they were given. But God's gifts are perfect, and can perform what they are designed for: therefore since the light is his gift, it must be sufficient.

The sum is this:

Every man ought to fear, worship, and obey God. No man can do it aright, that knows him not. No man can know him but by the discovery he makes of himself. No discovery can be made without light. Nor can this light give that discovery, if imperfect or insufficient in nature: therefore all have a sufficient light to this great end and purpose, viz. to fear, worship, and obey God; and this light is Christ.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXII.

The question, Who he is, or they are, that obey this divine light, &c. considered and answered; being the character of a true Quaker.

I AM now come to my last question, viz. ‘ Who ‘ this he is, or they are, that obey this light, and in obeying attain salvation?’ Or, what are the qualifications of those that obey this light? Not what are their names; but what manner or kind of people are they? In short, ‘ What is it to obey the light?’

I think I have so fully expressed myself already in this matter, that, with an ingenuous reader, I might be saved the pains of farther considering it; but that nothing may be thought to be shunned as unanswerable, which is so easy to be answered, I must tell him and all men, and that not without some experimental knowledge of what I say, that such obey the light, who refrain from all that the light manifests to be evil, and who incline to perform all that it requires to be done. For example: When the light shews that it is inconsistent with a man fearing God, to be wanton, passionate, proud, covetous, backbiting, envious, wrathful, unmerciful, revengeful, prophane, drunken, voluptuous, unclean; which, with such-like, are called in scripture “ the fruits of the flesh, and the works “ of darkness;” and persons so qualified, “ the children of wrath, such as delight not to retain God in “ their knowledge,” &c. I say, when the light discovers these things to be inconsistent with a man fearing God, he who truly obeys the light, denies and forsakes them, however *cross* it be to flesh and blood, and let it cost him never so dear: though relations do both threaten and entreat, and the world mock, and that he is sure to become the song of the drunkard, and a derision to his ancient companions. No, he

Gal. v. Ephes. v. Rom. i.

dare

dare not conform himself any more to the fashions of the world, which pass away, and which draw out the mind into vain and unprofitable delights, by which the just in him had formerly been slain; neither to gratify "the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and "the pride of life^b," which are not of the nature of his Father, who has begotten better desires and resolutions in him. He rejects the conversation he once had in the world; and, in the eye of its children, seems a man forlorn and distracted. He takes up the cross, despises the shame, and willingly drinks of the cup of bitter mockings, and yields to be baptized with the baptism of deep trials, that Christ Jesus his Lord drank of, and was baptized with.

He is as well taught to deny the religions, as cares and pleasures of the world. Such as profess religion from what they have been either taught by others, or read and gathered after their carnal minds out of the scriptures, intruding into the practices of either prophets or apostles, as to the external and shadowy things, not being led thereto by the same power they had, he can have no fellowship with. He counts all such faith and worship the imagination of men, or a mere lifeless imitation: he prefers one sigh begotten from a sense of God's work in the heart, beyond the longest prayers in that state: "he leaves them all, 'walks as a man alone, fearing to offer God a sacrifice that is not of his own preparing.' He charges all other faiths and worships with insufficiency, and mere creaturely power, which are not held and performed from an holy conviction and preparation by the angel of God, the light of his presence, in the heart and conscience: therefore it is that he goes forth in the strength of his God against the merchants of Babylon; and woes and plagues are rightly in his mouth against those buyers and sellers of the souls of men. He is jealous for the name of the Lord, and therefore dares not speak peace unto them, neither

^b Jam. v. 6, 1 John ii. 15. 16.

can be put into their mouths, but testifies against all such ways: "Freely he received, freely he gives."

Thus is this man unravelled, unreligioned, and unbottomed as to his former state, wherein he was religious upon letter, form, mens traditions, education, and his own imagination. He is as a man quite undone, that he may be made what the Lord would have him to be. Thus is he convinced of sin, and of righteousness too; and the joy he once had when he girded himself, and went whither he listed, is now turned into sorrow, and his rejoicing into howling. He has beheld God in the light of his Son, and abhors himself in dust and ashes. Sin, that was pleasant once in the mouth, he finds bitter now in the belly; and that which the world esteems worthy of their care, he flies as a man would do a bear robbed of her whelps. Sin is become "exceeding sinful" to him, insomuch that he cries out, "who shall deliver me?" He labours greatly, and is very heavy laden. Yet he is not willing to "fly in the winter," but is resolved to stand the trial; for this man not only brings his former deeds to the light, and there suffers judgment to pass upon them, but patiently takes *part* in that judgment, who was so great an *accessary* to them. Nor doth his obedience conclude with the sentence given against past sins, and himself that committed them; but most patiently "endures" "the hand of the Lord till his indignation be overpast," and till that which condemned sin (the *fruit*) hath destroyed the very *root* of it, which hath taken so deep hold in his heart, and that the same spirit of judgment that condemned sin, is brought forth into perfect victory over the very nature and power of sin. This judgment is found and felt in the light; therefore do the "Sons of the night" reject the knowledge of its ways, and the children of the day rejoice greatly in its appearance.

But neither is this all that makes up that good man who obeys the light: for a complete son of light is one that has conquered and expelled the darkness. It is

is true, he was once darkness, but now “Light in the Lord,”¹ because he hath been turned from darkness to the light, and from Satan’s power unto God, who is *light itself*, and with him is his fellowship continually.

This is the man, who, in the way of the light of the Lamb of God, hath met with inward cleansing; for having been purged by the spirit of judgment, and the spirit of *burning* (otherwise called the severe *reproofs, strokes, and terrors* of the light in the conscience) he has ever a watch set up in his heart. A thought must not pass which has not the *watch-word*; but at every appearance to the mind, he cries, ‘Stand:’ if a friend, and owned of the light (who is the great leader, given of God for that purpose) then he entertains it; otherwise he brings it to the commander of the conscience, who is to sit in judgment upon it. Thus is Christ the Light, King, Judge, and Lawgiver. And by this he grows strong, and increaseth with the increases of God. Yet he often reads the blessed scriptures, and that with much delight; greatly admiring the exceeding love of God to former ages, which he himself witnesseth to be true in this; where also many things are opened to his refreshment: so is the light the “just man’s path,” that in every age still “shineth brighter and brighter,”² in which the cleansing blood of Jesus Christ is felt to cleanse from all sin. Thus doth he bridle his thoughts, so that his words and actions offend not. Above all, he is often retired to the Lord, loves fellowship with him, waits for daily bread, which he asks, not in his *own* words, strivings, or will; but, as one empty of his thoughts, and jealous of the peace or comfort that is drawn from thence, he silently waits to feel the heavenly substance brought into his soul by the immediate hand of the Lord. For it is not fetching in this thought, or remembering the other passage in scripture, or designedly calling to mind

¹ Eph. v. 1 John i. 5, 6. ² Jam. iii. 1, 2, 3.

what has been formerly known, that gives right peace; but “every immediate word that proceeds out of the mouth of God,” that can satisfy him. In short, he that obeys the light, is thereby taught to ‘deny ungodliness, and worldly lusts, and to be sober, righteous, patient, humble, meek, upright, merciful, forbearing, forgiving, peaceable, gentle, self-denying, constant, faithful, and holy, because the Lord his God is holy.’

Thus have I given a brief account as well what he is *not*, as what he *is*, who is obedient to the light within, which is Christ’s spiritual appearance in the heart, whose holy blood is sensibly felt to *cleanse, atone, and save*, all those who believe and abide therein, both from the guilt and pollution of sin.

C H A P. XXIII.

The discourse hitherto summed up, and concluded, with an exhortation to all professors of religion, especially our opposers.

I Will sum up the whole of this discourse in these few heads:

I. That *salvation* is to be saved from sin first, and wrath consequently: “He shall save his people from their sins.” Matt. i.

II. That Christ, the WORD-GOD, has lighted all mankind, not only after his coming in the flesh, but *before*: and that the light has ever been sufficient, as well as universal, to lead to God all such as have obeyed it, as by its properties and effects is demonstrated.

III. That the difference betwixt the time of the law and that of the gospel, as generally distinguished, was rather in manifestation than in nature. God might be as much more propitious and bountiful to
the

the last ages (be it that they were better able to receive such extraordinary discoveries, or that it was the alone good pleasure of his sovereign will) as he was to the former ages; yet that he gave them a sufficiency of the same divine light to conduct them through the world to eternal blessedness.

IV. That Jews and Greeks, Heathens and Christians, agree in this.

V. That still the pre-eminence is given to *Christ's manifestation* in the *flesh*, both generally and particularly; that being both the fulness of time, and fulness of discovery, which put an end to the types and figures, and carnal commandments, by shewing forth an abrogation and consummation of them all, in Christ, the *substance* itself: in which state they are not needed; but, in comparison thereof, they are (though once they were as calendars, for weak people to read some mystical glory by) but *beggarly elements* now.

VI. That not only in that flesh did the eternal light preach forth itself the end of these things, by revealing and becoming the author of a more plain and perfect way, though less easy to flesh and blood (placing the stress of all upon an *evangelical* righteousness, whereof he became the first minister; and our most holy example); but he also appeared in that publick body, so peculiarly prepared, a general Saviour, by his life; doctrine, miracles, death of the cross, and resurrection; in and by all which he obtained "a name above every name."

VII. That nevertheless, not to the body; but the holy *light of life* therein, is chiefly to be ascribed the salvation; and to the body, however excellent, but instrumentally: for that it was the eternal light and life, which gave the weight to all the actions and sufferings of the body.

VIII. That the benefit then procured is not witnessed by any, but as they come to believe in Christ the light, as he doth appear in the heart and conscience, to "save from sin, destroy the works of the
" devil,

“ devil, finish transgression, and bring in of his ever-
 “ lasting righteousness.” Wherefore to imagine one’s
 self entitled to a state of salvation, whilst in *rebellion*
 against the light within, which is Christ’s *inward knock-*
ing and *appearance*, must needs be a delusion, most
 pernicious, and destructive to the souls of men.

IX. That, upon the whole, it is determined and
 concluded, that “ Christ is that light which shineth
 “ in the conscience.”

X. That the light is proved, by *reason*, both uni-
 versal and sufficient: the first, from the consent of
 mankind, and the goodness and rectitude of God: the
 second, both from *experience*, and that it were incon-
 sistent with the goodness and wisdom of God, to give
 a light to his creature, *insufficient* for the work for which
 he gave it.

Thus, in short, have I given the heads and results
 of most of the matter contained in the whole dis-
 course upon the *light*: and I entreat our adversaries
 they would seriously weigh the whole, before they
 either reject it, or pretend to reply to it. But let
 them be advised to *try* the virtue of the light, before
 they sentence it to have none; and, in the love of
 God, be once prevailed upon to consider, if some-
 thing *in them* doth not really *condemn* them for *evil*;
 and, amongst other things, for these brisk attempts
 against it, and unreasonable undervaluings of it.

O why should men covet to *know* so far beyond
 what they do faithfully *practise*! Let them first *ant-*
live the just and holy requirings of the *light*, before
 they put these barbarous affronts upon it; as a Will-
 in-the-whisp, a dark-lantern light, natural, insuffi-
 cient, *ignis fatuus*, the Quakers idol; and abundance
 of such-like frothy, profane, and indeed blasphemous
 epithets, which some have wickedly bestowed upon it,
 as if they were its proper names: when the scriptures
 they would oppose to it plainly tell them, that the
 whole work of the apostolical ministry was, “ to turn
 “ people from darkness to the light, from the power
 “ of

“ of Satan unto God, that they might have remission
 “ of sins.” As much as to say, ‘ Such as are turned
 ‘ to the *light*, are turned to *God*, who is light; and
 ‘ those who abide there, both have remission of the
 ‘ *punishment*, and purgation from the *defilement*, of
 ‘ sin.’

And whatever any may think of us, we both believe, assert, and will maintain, against men and devils, “ That God is *light* :” and that *out* of the light, or *void* of his divine illumination, no man can *know* him, and consequently not *worship* him, unless they should worship an *unknown god* : that such as receive this illumination, and rebel not against it, but improve this heavenly talent, they have fellowship with the pure eternal God, and experience the blood of Jesus Christ to “ cleanse them from all unrighteousness.”

If any think to arrive at glory another way, and will not be admonished, let them proceed : we speak what we *know*, and can but declare what we have *felt* of the work of God in our hearts. The scriptures we highly value : but we believe not the things we often quote thence to be true *only* because there, but for that we are *witnesses* of the *same operation*, and bring in our *experimental* testimonies to confirm the truth of theirs ; and such truly honour the scriptures : all others are at best but empty scribes, and pharisaical babblers.

So with God I leave my labour in this particular, desiring that this heavenly light may yet more abundantly arise upon the dark hearts of mankind, and awaken them to repentance : that since it hath so long shined in darkness *uncomprehended*, till even darkness itself is grown so impudent as to impute it to the insufficiency of the light, he would be pleased to cause it to *shine out* of darkness, that it might plead the excellency of its own divine nature in the consciences of men and women, against the scorns and detractions that even too many of the great professors of Christianity

anity stick not to fling upon it; so ill are they principled, and so unchristianly employed: which proves to me how little they are professors of the “true, pure and undefiled religion,” whatever opinion some weak and simple people may have of them. My soul pitieth their opposition, and feareth the consequence of such resistance, and desires they may see the *very vanity* of their endeavours against the light, repent of them, and be converted, that God may yet heal them. Which sincere prayer is my return for all their hard speeches and ungodly sayings against us in general, and myself in particular.

WILLIAM PENN.

A
D I S C O U R S E
OF THE
General Rule of FAITH and PRACTICE,
AND
JUDGE OF CONTROVERSY.

Greatly importing all those who desire to take right Measures of Faith, and to determine (at least to themselves) the numerous Controversies now on foot in the World.

By the same Author.

For in Christ Jesus, neither Circumcision availeth any Thing, nor Uncircumcision, but a NEW Creature. And as many as walk according to THIS Rule, Peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God. GAL. vi. 16.

But God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit: for the Spirit searcheth all Things, yea, the deep Things of God.—The Things of God knoweth no Man, but the Spirit of God.—He that is spiritual judgeth all things. 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11, 15.

But ye have an Unction from the Holy One; and ye shall know all Things. 1 JOHN ii. 20.

Published in the Year 1673.

A

D I S C O U R S E

O F T H E

GENERAL RULE of FAITH and PRACTICE.

SINCE there are so many faiths in the world, and perplexed controversies about them; and that it greatly behoveth every man, if to contend for, then first to know, the *true faith* that overcometh the world; it may not be unnecessary to say something of the general rule of faith and life, and judge of controversy, at this time. And indeed I am pressed from this weighty consideration, that men perish for want of it, and can no more arrive at truth without it, than the distressed mariner can gain his port, who sails without either star or compass.

I shall begin with an explanation of the terms, *rule, and faith*; of which we shall first treat, that we may as well express what we intend by the one, as what we mean by the other; which will be a proper introduction to the whole discourse.

By GENERAL RULE, &c. we understand, that *constant measure or standard*, by which men, in *all ages*, have been enabled to judge of the truth or error of doctrines, and the good or evil of thoughts, words, and actions.

By FAITH, we understand, an *assent* of the *mind*, in such manner, to the discoveries made of God thereto, as to *resign up to God*, and *have dependence upon him*, as the great Creator and Saviour of his people; which is *inseparable* from *good works*.

That

That men, in all ages, have had a belief of God, and some knowledge of him, though not upon equal discovery, must be granted from that account that all story gives of mankind in matters of religion. Several have fully performed this; of old, Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Augustine, and others; of latter times, Du Plessy, Grotius, Amiraldu, L. Herbert, and above all Dr. Cudworth: and indeed the relicks we have of the most ancient historians and authors, are a demonstration in the point. Now the scripture tells us, that “no man knows the Father
 “but the Son, and he to whom the Son reveals
 “him:” and “as none know the things of man,
 “save the spirit of man; so the things of God knows
 “no man, but the Spirit of God.” Hence we may safely conclude, that the creating Word that was with God, and was God, in whom was life, and that *life* the light of men, and who is the quickening Spirit, was *he* by whom God in all ages hath revealed himself; consequently, that light or spirit must have been the *general rule* of mens knowledge, faith, and obedience, with respect to God. And thus much Pythagoras, who lived about six hundred years before those words were spoke or writ, laid down for a maxim, viz. ‘That no man can know what is agreeable to
 ‘God, except a man *bear God himself,*’ and that must be within; for that was his doctrine. To which the apostle and prophet thus agree: 1. In that “whatever
 “makes manifest is light.” 2. That “whatever
 “might be known of God was made manifest with-
 “in; for God (who is *light*, 1 John i. 5.) had shewn it unto them: and, “God hath shewn unto thee, O
 “man, what is good, and what God requireth of
 “thee,” &c. Which could not be without the light of his Son shining in man’s conscience: therefore the light of Christ in the conscience must needs have been the *general rule*, &c. It was by this law that Enoch,

* Mat. xi. 17.

* 1 Cor. ii. 11.

* Eph. v. 13. Rom. i. 19.

* Mic. vi. 8.

Noah, Abraham, Melchizedeck, Abimelech, Job, Jethro, &c. walked and were accepted, as saith Irenæus and Tertullian; ‘They were just by the law written in their hearts:’ then was it their *rule*, to and in that just state.

Obj. *It seems then you deny the scriptures to be the general rule, &c.*

Answ. How can they be the general rule, that have not been *general*? That which was both *before* and *since* they were in being, must needs be more general than they: but that was this light in the conscience, the law and guide of those PATRIARCHS (for the scriptures began long after, in the time of MOSES) consequently *that* must be the general rule, &c.

Obj. *But granting that the light within were so before scripture was extant; yet, since the writings of holy scripture, the scripture, and not the light, hath been the general rule.*

Answ. That cannot be, unless *Palestina*, or *Canaan*, a little province of Asia, was the whole world, and that the *Jews*, a particular people, were all mankind. For at what time those writings were among the *Jews*, other nations were only left to the law and light within. This the apostle confirmeth in that passage, ‘For the Gentiles, which have not the law (that is, the *outward* law, or law written upon stone) do by nature the things contained in the law, which sheweth the work of the law written in their hearts.’ And the Gentiles themselves called it, ‘the immutable law; the everlasting foundation of virtue; no lifeless precepts, but immortal; a sacred good, God the overseer; the living rule; the root of the soul; that which makes the good man.’ Thus Thales, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Plotin, Hieron, Philo,

Plutarch, as cited. And saith Sophocles, ‘ God grant
 ‘ that I may always observe that venerable sanctity in
 ‘ my words and deeds which these noble precepts
 ‘ (writ in man’s heart) require: God is their father,
 ‘ neither shall they ever be abrogated; for there is in
 ‘ them a *great God* that never waxeth old.’ More re-
 verend epithets than our opposers can afford, as their
 books but too openly witness; yet would go for
 Christian men, though manifestly short of Heathens.

Thus it is evident that the scripture was not the ge-
 neral rule, after it was given forth.

Obj. *But hath it not been since, and is it not now, the
 general rule? &c.*

Answ. There hath been since, and is now, the same
 impediment; for before Christ’s coming in the flesh,
 and since, where the scriptures never reached, there
 hath been the same light. And though nations, by
 not glorifying God as God, when they have known
 him, have been given up to all manner of iniquities,
 insomuch as their understandings have been greatly
 veiled; yet did not the light within so entirely lose its
 ruling exercise among them, as that they lived with-
 out any sense of such a thing: therefore still the scrip-
 tures have not been, neither are, the general rule; no
 not so much as of any age; since in no age can it be
 proved that the whole, or greatest part of the world,
 had them. But had they been so for some one or two
 ages, as they never were; yet the granting it will not
 reach our question, where the word *general* implieth
 the nature of the thing itself respecting mankind,
 from the beginning of the world to this day, and so
 to the end.

Obj. *But is not the scripture the rule, &c. of our
 day?*

Answ. If *the* rule, then the *general* rule: for what-
 soever is *the* rule of faith and life, excludeth all other
 from

from being *general*, they being but *particular* in respect of itself: therefore not *the* rule, though *a* rule, of faith and life.

But besides their not being general, I have several reasons to offer, why they cannot be *the* rule of faith and life, &c.

(a) If *now* the rule, then *ever* the rule; but they were *not* ever the rule; and therefore they cannot *now* be the rule. That they were not *ever* the rule is granted: but that they are not therefore *now* the rule, may be by some denied; which I shall prove thus. If the *faith* of God's people in all ages be of *one nature*, then the *rule* but of one nature: but clear it is, Heb. xi. the faith has been but of one nature. In short, if the holy ancients had faith before they had or wrote scripture, they had a *rule* before they had or wrote scripture; for where faith is, there is a rule for that faith. And if the faith be of one nature, the rule is of one nature also. And since the faith is *inward*, *spiritual*, begotten of the immortal Word, in which is life, and that life the light of men, and that this *Word of life and light* was *the* rule; then no book, writing, or engraving on visible and perishable matter, can be the rule *now*.

Again;

(a) Justin Martyr saith, 'that all are Christians who live with Christ, as Abraham and Elias; and amongst the Greeks, as Socrates, Heraclitus, &c.' See Scultetus on him: who also saith, 'That some at this day are of his judgment, who have taught that Melchizedek, Abimelech, Ruth, Rachab, the queen of Sheba, Hiram of Tyre, Naaman the Syrian, and the city of Nineveh, are in the catalogue of Christians.'

Eusebius Pamph. in his Ecclesiastical History, saith, 'That Abraham and the ancient fathers were Christians:' and defines a Christian to be, 'one that by the knowledge and doctrine of Christ excels in moderation of mind, in righteousness and continency of life, and strength of virtue and godliness towards one only God.' See Scultetus on him.

Clemens Alexandrinus saith, 'The law of nature and of discipline is one. And Moses seems to call the Lord *the Covenant*:' for he had said before, 'the covenant was not to be sought in scripture; for that is the covenant, which God, the cause of all, setteth, whence his nature in Greek is derived. And in the preaching of Peter,

Again ; such as the faith is, such must the rule be : but the faith is, as before, *inward* and *spiritual*, which no *mere book* can be.

2. If the scriptures were the *general* rule, they must have always been a *perfect* rule, ever since they were a rule : but this is impossible, since they were *many hundred years in writing*, and are now imperfect also as to *number* ; how then are they the *perfect* rule ?

That they were not the *perfect* rule before they were *written*, must be granted : and that they were many hundred years writing, must also be allowed : and that they are imperfect now, as to *number*, I prove :

First, “ Enoch’s Prophecy,” is mentioned by Jude, but not extant in the Bible. “ The Book of the “ Wars of the Lord,” Numb. xxi. 14. “ The Book “ of Jasher,” Josh. x. 13. 2 Sam. i. 18. “ The “ Book of Nathan,” 2 Chron. ix. 29. “ The Book “ of Shemaiah, 2 Chron. xii. 15. “ The Book of “ Jehu : the Epistle of the apostle Paul to the Lao- “ diceans,” Colos. iv. 16. and several others mentioned in the scriptures, not now extant. And lastly, Luke says, “ That *many* took in hand to re- “ late from eye-witnesses the things most surely be- “ lieved, &c.”

“ Peter, thou mayest find the Lord called the *Word*, or *Reason*, and “ the *Law*.” See his 1st book *Strom.* at the end. And before, page 353, he saith, ‘ The Law and the Gospel is the operation of one “ Lord, who is the virtue and wisdom of God : and the fear which “ the law had bred, is merciful to salvation : and the fear of the “ Lord is the beginning of wisdom. That she (that is, *Wisdom*) “ that ministereth providence, is mistress and *good* ; and the power of “ both procureth salvation : the one chastising as mistress ; the other “ being bountiful, as a benefactor ; for one must pass from darkness “ to life ; and, applying his ear to wisdom, first be a servant, then “ a faithful minister, and so ascend into the number of sons, and “ be brought into the elect adoption of sons. That the law works “ to make them immortal, that chuse to live temperately and justly.’ And again, ‘ Evil men do not understand the law ; but they that “ seek the Lord, do understand every good thing.’ And the whole first book of the *Stromata* is especially to prove the antiquity of the *One true religion*, or *philosophy*, as he calls it.

2. Now,

2. Now, it is taken for granted, that John wrote many years after Luke: some think Luke wrote before Mark. However, Matthew and Mark were not *many*, and to this day we see no more than those four in our Bibles; and therefore many such writings are lost: and if lost, then the scriptures, as aforesaid, are not perfect; and if imperfect, how can they be *the rule of faith*, since the rule of faith must be perfect?

3. My third reason is this; The scriptures, however useful to edification and comfort, seem not in their own nature and frame to have been compiled and delivered as the *general rule*, and *intire body of faith*, but rather written upon particular occasions and emergencies. The doctrines are scattered throughout the scriptures; insomuch that those societies, who have given forth verbal confessions of their faith, have been necessitated to toss them to and fro, search here and search there, to lay down this or the other principle; and then as like the original text as their apprehensions can render it: whereas, were it as plain and distinct as the nature of a rule requires, they needed only to have given their subscription for a confession. Besides, here they are *proper*, there *metaphorical*: in one place *literally*, in another *mystically* to be accepted: most times points are to be proved by comparing and weighing places coherent; where to allude aptly, and not wrong the sense, is difficult, and requires a clear and certain discerning, notwithstanding the clamours upon us about infallibility. Now from all this, with abundance more that might be said, plain is it that the scriptures are not plain but to the *spiritual* man: thus Peter said of Paul's writings, that "in many things they were hard to be understood?" Therefore not *such* a rule, which ought to be plain, proper, and intelligible.

4. Again, the scripture cannot be the rule of faith, because it cannot *give* faith; for faith is the "gift of God, which overcomes the world:" neither of

practice, because it cannot distinguish *of itself*, in all cases, what ought to be practised, and what not; since it contains as well what ought *not* to be practised, as what *ought*.

This was the case of Christ's disciples, who had no particular rule in the Old Testament writings for the abolishing of some part of the Old Testament religion: on the contrary, they might have pleaded for the perpetuity of it, because Christ said unto them, "Do as they say that sit in Moses's chair," more reasonably than many who make that a plea now-a-days for their invented worships. What then guided them in their declaring void and relinquishing those things? For instance, God gave circumcision "as a sign *for ever*:"^b And Paul tells the Galatians, "that if they be circumcised, Christ should profit them nothing:"^c was not this the spirit of truth, that leads into all truth, that the apostles made the judge and rule of their doctrine and practice? So said James, and the assembly of the apostles, when they told the believers, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us,"^d &c.

These very men that say it is the rule of faith and life, deviate in their proof from their assertion; for the scriptures no where say so of themselves. Here they fly to meanings and interpretations: the question arises not about the truth of the text, for that is agreed on all hands; but the exposition of it: if then I yield to that man, do I bow to the letter of the text, or to his interpretation? If the latter, as manifestly I do, is the scripture, or *that man's sense* of it, my rule? Nay, the person so interpreting makes not the scripture his rule, but his own apprehension, whatever he may say to gain credit to his conceptions with others; then mine it must needs be, I consenting thereto.

6. How shall I be assured that these scriptures came from God? I am bound to try all things: if all

^b Gen. xvii. 7.

^c Gal. v. 1, 2.

^d Acts xv. 28.

things,

things, then them among the rest. I would fain know what I must try them with. With the scriptures? Then the scriptures must be the rule of my examination and faith concerning themselves, which is improper. If with the spirit that gave them forth, which searcheth the deep things of God (a measure of which is given to me to profit withal) then is it most congruous to call the *spirit*, by way of excellency, and not the scriptures, *the rule*.

7. If the scriptures are the rule, they must be so in the *original*, or *copies*: if in the *original*, that is not extant, and so there would be no rule in being; for the last of it that was extant, was the Evangelist John's history at Ephesus, not seen almost these thousand years. If the *copies* must be the rule, it were to be wished we knew which were the nearest to the original, there being above thirty in number. This is undetermined, and for ought we see undeterminable. And that which farther confirms what I say is, the variety of readings which we find amongst those copies, amounting to several thousands. And if the copies cannot, how can the *translations* be the rule, so various (if not differing) from the true sense of the copies in many things, and one from another? Besides, I would fain know of those of our present age, who thus contend for the scriptures being the general rule, &c. *in opposition to the spirit*, upon what foot they receive them into this place and authority: is it by *tradition* or *revelation*? I mean, the *internal testimony of the spirit*; or the *external award and determination of men*? If the former, they must unavoidably come over to us; for then the spirit will, and must be both *rule* and *judge*: if the latter, I ask how are they assured that they are not miserably abused by carelessness or design; since we see, that using the utmost diligence, both translation, transcription and printing, are subject to numerous mistakes, and those sometimes very material, against which the scripture of itself can be no fence?

But

But admit there were no ground for any such objection, I farther demand of our adversaries, if they are well assured of those men that first collected, embodied, and declared them authentic by a publick canon? Which we read was in the *council of Laodicea*, held three hundred and sixty years after Christ, though not as they are now received: during which time they had been tossed and tumbled through many hands, and of many judgments and opinions. Some were received, and some rejected, and doubtless many thousands of times transcribed; and it is not improbable that they were also abused. If they miss in their judgment here, they are gone till they come to us. I say, how do they know that these men rightly discerned true from spurious? Either their judgment was infallible in the matter, or it was not: if it were, then there was such a thing as infallibility since the apostles days, which is a contradiction to yourselves. But be it so that they were infallible; how came you to be assured they were so? Not by inspiration; for that is dangerous doctrine with you: which way was it then? Not by tradition: was it by the scripture? That were to say that the scripture tells you that those men that collected it for true, were right in their judgment: but we are yet to find any such place; and if it were so, that would but beg the question. I cannot see any other ground, besides your very great *indulgence to their choice*; which you call *Popery*, and believing as the *church believes*, in other folks. But if these men were fallible, as your opinion makes them, and their own determinations prove them, what then? Doubtless your condition will be very uncertain.

Now, sure it is, that some of the scriptures taken in by one council for *canonical*, were rejected by another as *apocryphal*; and that which was left out by the former for *apocryphal*, was taken in by the latter for *canonical*. Now visible it is, that they contradicted each other, and as true that they both erred, respecting the present belief: for *your* canon and catalogue vary from *theirs*, and, let me say without offence, from
any

any catalogue you can produce. Behold the labyrinth of uncertainties you run yourselves into, who go from that heavenly gift in yourselves, by which the holy scriptures are truly discerned, relished, and distinguished from the inventions and abuses of men!

8. Farthermore, if the scriptures were the rule of faith and life, &c. then, because they cannot be the rule in their translations, supposing the ancient copies were exact, it cannot be the rule to far the *greatest* part of mankind; indeed to none but *learned* men: which neither answers the promise relating to gospel-times, which is universal; nor the necessity of all mankind for a rule of faith and life.

9. That the scriptures are not the rule of faith and life, is proved from those voluminous discourses of *cases of conscience* that are extant among us: for had the scriptures been as sufficient as the nature of the rule of faith and life requireth, there had been no need of such tracts: every man might have read his own condition laid down in scripture, without those numerous supplements. Do not your own language and practice prove its insufficiency to that end, at what time you both exhort to, and go in secret to seek, the mind of the Lord in this or that important affair? Why do not you turn to chapter and verse for satisfaction, if the scripture be appointed of God for the general rule? Strange! that what is so common in the mouths of all sorts, viz. “God direct you,” (which implieth inspiration and revelation, or immediate counsel or guiding from God) should not be known, much less acknowledged by you in our writings; but disdained with such scaring epithets, as enthusiasm, familism, fanaticism, Quakerism, &c. In short, there are a thousand cases, and not a few occurring almost daily, in which the scripture cannot be our *plain* and *distinct* rule and guide:¹ yet has not God left himself without a witness in *any* bosom; for his GRACE, “that

¹ There is not laid down in scripture any general rule how to answer *before magistrates*; and to act in *times of sufferings*.

“ brings salvation, has appeared unto *all men*, teach-
 “ ing them that *believe* in it, to deny ungodliness and
 “ worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and
 “ godly in this present world.”” And Christ Jesus,
 the Eternal Word, has for that end lighted every man
 coming into the world, viz. to discover, reprove, and
 instruct about faith and practice. But it may be, and
 is objected by some :

Obj. *If this law and light in the conscience had been
 enough, what need had there been of scripture ?*

Answ. The same argument will hold against God,
 Christ, his Spirit and grace ; all which are sufficient,
 notwithstanding the use and benefit of scripture. The
 case was this : ‘ Man’s mind being estranged from the
 light and spirit, through its wanderings after visible
 and perishing things ; and inasmuch as the light be-
 came thereby veiled from him, the Spirit as it were
 quenched, and the law defaced, God, in peculiar
 mercy to the Jews, according to his covenant with
 faithful Abraham, superadded, or repeated (as Ursin
 terms it) the *law inward*, by a declaration of it *out-
 wardly* ; that both God might not be without an out-
 ward witness, as well as an inward (they having so
 much lost the feeling thereof) ; and likewise more
 deeply to strike their minds by their *senses* (into which
 their minds were gone) and to meet them abroad,
 where they were roving and wandering from the *law*
 and *light within*.

As it is great vanity and weakness to infer insuffi-
 ciency to the light, from the imbecility and darkness
 that are in men ; so is it, from God’s superadding scrip-
 ture, and other external assistances, to men in that
 state ; since their blindness is occasioned through their
 rebellion to the law and light within. What ! would
 such have God, his light, and Spirit, appear to, and
 converse with, people’s outward senses ? That cannot

■ John i. 9. Titus ii. 11, 12.

be :

be: the one is spiritual, and the other too carnal for any such thing. Or are they insufficient, because they converse with men through these exterior things, suited to that weak state? Or tell me if the most considerable part of scripture be any more than the declared knowledge and experience of such as were come to a more improved state in the teachings of that light and spirit; which is therefore given forth, that others loitering behind might be stirred up, and the more prevailed with to follow them, as they had followed the Lord in the light of his spirit? Certainly, it can never be that scripture should impeach the light of insufficiency, when that very scripture is but the mind and teachings of the divine light in others, declared or recorded. Does the declaration jar with, or make weak, that from whence it came? Or because of God's condescension for a time to external mediums, shall they turn the light and spirit out of the office of rule and judge? Or is it to *lay down instituted religion*, as some ignorantly talk, to press after that which was before, and ends those temporary things? The law *outward*, as a rule, was but as *Moses*, till *the Son* came. "The *servant* abideth not in the house *for ever*." The written law held its place but till the inward arose in *more glory* and *brightness*; or rather, till people became more capable of being turned to it, and living with and in it. "In those days" saith the Lord, "I will write my law in their hearts," &c. They who say otherwise of scripture, do pervert and abuse it; for there is nothing more clearly laid down in it, from beginning to end, than the *rule* and *reign* of the spirit. "My kingdom," said Christ, "is not of *this* world." Again, "The kingdom of God is *within*. I will write my law in their *hearts*, and place my fear in their *inward parts*. All thy children shall be taught of the *Lord*, and in righteousness shall they be established. I will pour out of my

^a Isa. liv. 13. ^o John xviii. 36.

“ spirit on *all* flesh.” The grace of God that brings
 “ salvation, hath appeared to *all* men, teaching,⁹” &c.

Obj. *But if the law engraven and delivered to Moses, was a rule to the Jews, why should not the law delivered by Christ, and written by the apostles, be the rule to Christians?*

Answ. Christ left nothing in *writing* for the rule of faith and practice that we hear of; and it is not to be thought that he was less faithful in his house than Moses: and doubtless, had he intended the rule of his followers to have been a *written* rule, he would have left it upon record with all *punctuality*: *this* must be *believed*, and that *done*, on pain of eternal death. Nor did his followers write in the *method of a rule*, as the law was written; nor did they so call or recommend what they writ.

But this leads me to my eighth reason why the scriptures cannot be the rule under the New covenant, &c. for admitting the law written by Moses were *the* rule (*a* rule, I grant it was) to the Jew outward, yet Christ, the *spiritual* leader of a *spiritual* Israel, writeth his *spiritual* law in the *heart*; as Moses, the *outward* Israel's leader, writ the law upon tables of *stone*. This was God's promise, and the privilege and blessing of the new covenant, that as the *outward* Jew had an *outward* law for a *directory*, the *inward* Jew should have an *inward* law for his *directory*: and as the outward Jew had an outward *priest*, at whose mouth he ought to seek the law; so the Jew *inward*, and circumcision *in spirit*, has an *inward* and *spiritual* High Priest, whose lips preserve knowledge; at whose mouth he is to receive the law of life. And *this* is his rule, even he who is the Ruler of his people Israel, who reigneth in righteousness, and of whose heavenly government there shall be no end.^r The

^p Joel ii. 28.

⁹ Tit. ii. 11, 12.

^r Mal. ii. 7. Heb. vii. 24,

25, 26, 27. Isa. ix. 6, 7.

king, ruler, judge, law-giver, high priest, law, rule, temple, are all *spiritual*; so the scriptures inform us; “My kingdom,” said Christ, “is not of this world.” Again, “The kingdom of God is within. I will write my law in their hearts, and place my fear in their inward parts. They shall be all taught of me; and in righteousness shall they be established. The tabernacle of God is with man; he will dwell with them. I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh. The grace of God hath appeared unto all men, teaching, &c. A measure of the spirit is given to all men to profit withal. The inspiration of the Almighty giveth understanding. Whatsoever may be known of God is manifest within. Walk in the spirit. If ye walk in the light, &c. Come, let us walk in the light of the Lord. And there needed neither sun nor moon to shine; for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb was the light thereof. As many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God,” &c. (b) What rule? Not that of the *old legal* creation, which then passed away; but the rule of the *καὶνὴ κτίσις* or *new* creation, as it may be

* Luke xvii. 20, 21. Heb. viii. 10. Rev. xxi. 3. Joel ii. 28. Tit. ii. 11, 12. Job xxxii. 8. Rom. i. 19. Gal. v. 16. 1 John i. 7. Isa. ii. 5. Rev. xxi. 23. Gal. vi. 15, 16.

(b) Galat. vi. 16. τῇ κατὰ τὴν *τύπῳ*, in *this rule*; as it is translated, Phil. iii. 16. which was spoken of the measure of attainment: and Grotius saith ‘in the *manuscript*, rule is not; so it must be understood, “let us walk in the same attainment;” as also in 2 Cor. x. 13. 15. in which three places that word is only found: See Erasmus, Vatablus, Zegerus, Cameron, Jac. Capellus and Grotius, on those places, none whereof can be drawn to the scriptures. Zegerus interprets this place of Gal. vi. 16. thus, ‘they that have followed this form of life, or rule of the new creature, having turned away from the invalid ceremonies of the law, peace, &c.’ Drusius explains it from chap. v. 6. ‘the *new creation*. ‘Faith which worketh by love.’ Grotius saith, ‘rule here is a way made as to a rule that is plainly right; such is that *way* of the *new creation*, which was foretold, Isa. xlii. 9. and signifies the *state of the new man*,’ of which Paul speaks, Col. iii. 10. Eph. ii. 15. Rom. vi. 4.

rendered,

rendered, and as Drufius also doth interpret it; which is the way of life Ifaiah spoke of; “ an highway there
 “ shall be, and it shall be called the way of holiness;
 “ the unclean shall not pass over it, and wayfaring
 “ men, though fools, shall not err therein: there
 “ shall be no lion there, nor ravenous beast to go
 “ thereon, but the redeemed shall walk there:” which
 way, teacher, guide, rule, light, spirit, and holy
 unction, that directs and keeps in steady paths of
 truth, is CHRIST JESUS our Lord.

Obj. *But do you not turn the scriptures off, for an uncertain and unserviceable writing, and as good as reject and deny them altogether?*

Answ. Some indeed, to render us odious to all Protestants, have said as much in our names, as the consequence of our principles; but not without great injustice to us.

The scriptures are uncertain upon *their* foundation, but not upon *ours*. Doth our manifesting their faith concerning the scriptures to be grounded upon their own imaginations, or human traditions, make void the scriptures, or render them uncertain? By no means; for we would have them received upon the spirit's testimony and evidence, which gave them forth. And though we cannot allow them to be *the rule* of faith and life, under the dispensation of the gospel, which is *power* and *life* itself; yet are they to be *reverently read, believed, and fulfilled*, under the gospel. For notwithstanding the law written upon stone was not Paul's rule, after the Son of God was revealed in him; yet the Son of God taught Paul to *fulfil* the righteousness declared by that law. If it be to deny and reject (as some have enviously said of us) yea, to vilify the scripture, because we cannot allow it to be *the rule*, &c. Paul then may be said to deny, reject, and vilify the written law, at what time the law of the *spirit of life* in Christ Jesus became *his rule*. There is a great difference between asserting that the

spirit is the rule, and casting away and vilifying of scripture. And indeed it is but an old fetch of the devil's, to pretend honour to the letter, that he might the more unsuspectedly oppose the bringing in of the dispensation of the spirit; which the letter itself testifies of and to. They that come to be led of the spirit, arrive at the end for which the scripture was given forth: the apostle John did as good as say the same thing, when he told them to whom he wrote, "that the anointing which they had received, and "abode in them, would lead them into all truth; and "that they needed not that any man should teach "them:" to deny this to have been the saints teacher, is to deny as plain a proposition as is in the whole scripture: and that *one* age of Christianity should have *one* rule, and another age *another* rule; that age the *spirit*, and this but the *letter*, is more than any man can prove. Yet, did John's so writing to the believers invalidate the scripture, or vilify his own epistle? I would think none could talk so idly. How then doth our exalting the light and spirit of Christ, which fulfils the scriptures (by bringing such as are led by it to enjoy the good things therein declared) reject and vilify the scriptures? Does our living up to them, by an *higher* rule, make us deny and reprobate them? Erasmus and Grotius think them then to be most valued, when men are witnesses of their truth in themselves: see them on 2 Pet. i. 19, 20. I do acknowledge they contain an account of several heavenly prophecies, godly reproofs, instructions and examples, that ought to be obeyed, and followed.

Obj. *If so, then how are they not a rule of faith and life?*

Ans. *A rule, and the rule, are two things. By the rule of faith and practice, I understand, the living, spiritual, immediate, omnipresent, discovering, ordering, Spirit of God: and by a rule, I apprehend some instrument, by and through which this great and universal*

universal rule may convey its directions. Such a *subordinate, secondary, and declaratory* rule, we never said several parts of scripture were not: yet we confess the reason of our obedience is not merely because they are there *written* (for that were *legal*) but because they are the *eternal precepts* of the *spirit*, in mens consciences, *there* repeated and declared. It is the *testimony of the spirit*, which is the *true rule* for believing and understanding of the scripture; therefore not the scripture, but the *spirit of truth*, must be the *rule* for our believing and understanding them. Thus held the ancients.'

Tertullian saith, 'Worldly wisdom the Lord calls foolishness. He hath chosen the foolish things of the world, to the confounding of philosophy; for that is the matter of worldly wisdom. A divine interpreter of the divine nature and disposings.''

Justin Martyr, in Exposit. Fid. 'The interpretation of the scriptures is to be accommodated to the will of the doctrine of the spirit; and not to human reasonings.'

Hieron saith, 'The scriptures must be opened with spiritual exposition.''

Epiphanius saith, 'Only to the children of the Holy Ghost all the scriptures are plain and clear.'

Nor were the most approved Protestants of any sort (who have been so reputed in opposition to Popery) of another mind. It is the substance of the fourth article exhibited against the Lutherans, in the council of Trent, as an erroneous doctrine they held, 'That to understand the scripture, neither gloss nor comment is necessary; but only to have the spirit of a sheep of Christ's pasture.'

Erasmus tells us, 'What man sets forth by man's device, may be received by man's wit: but the

' Bp. Rob. Sand. de Regul. Conf. Præl. 4ta. Sect. 31. ' Ter-
tul. de Præscrip. Herætic. p. 204. Dell. Confut. of Simp.
p. 89, 90. ' Hieron. tom. 4. 7. Bp. Jewel. p. 532. ' Po-
lano. Hister. Counc. Tr. p. 150.

‘ thing that is set forth by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, requireth an interpreter inspired with the like spirit; and without the *inspiration* of it, the secrets of God cannot be known.’²

Luther giveth us his mind thus: ‘ The scriptures are not to be understood, but by that very spirit by which they were writ.’

Peter Martyr, that famous Italian Protestant, teacheth us, ‘ The spirit is the abettor, by which we must assure ourselves for understanding the scriptures, that thereby we must discern between Christ’s words, and a stranger’s;’^b quoting Christ’s words, “ My sheep know my voice,” and several other places of scripture.

Again, ‘ The spirit of God revealeth the truth in the scriptures.’

H. Bullinger, decad. 4. serm. 8. ‘ Men fetch the understanding of heavenly things, and knowledge of the Holy Ghost, from *no-where else*, but from the *same spirit*.’

John Bradford answered to the archbishop of York thus: ‘ We know the scriptures, as Christ’s sheep, by the *same spirit* that wrote and spake them; being thereby assured,’ &c.^d

Calvin teacheth thus in his Institutes; ‘ It is necessary the *same spirit* that spake by the mouth of the prophets, should pierce into our hearts, to persuade us that they faithfully delivered that which was committed to them of God.’

Beza saith, ‘ That the way of understanding prophecies, and referring them to the right scope, must be sought or fetched from the *same spirit* which dictated them to the prophets themselves;’ and more to that purpose.

W. Tindal, called the English apostle by J. Fox, saith, ‘ It is impossible to understand in the scripture

² Erasmus on 1 Pet. i. 19. on 1 Cor. ii.

^a Luther, tom. 3. fol.

169.

^b Peter Martyr Com. loc. p. 1. c. 6.

^c Ibid. p. 1.

c. 18.

^d Book of Martyrs, 3 vol. p. 298.

^e Calvin. Instit.

lib. 1. c. 8.

^f Beza on 2 Pet. i. 19.

‘ more than a Turk, for any that hath not the law
 ‘ of God, *writ in the heart*, to fulfil it.’^s

Bp. Jewel says thus against Harding, ‘ The spirit
 ‘ of God is bound neither to sharpness of wit, nor
 ‘ to abundance of learning: flesh and blood is not
 ‘ able to understand the holy will of God, without
 ‘ *special revelation*. Without this *special help*, and
 ‘ *prompting* of God’s *spirit*, the scripture is to the
 ‘ reader, be he never so wise and learned, as the vi-
 ‘ sion of a *sealed book*.^h’

Dr. Ames, a great father of the Independents, saith
 upon occasion of Bellarmin’s words, ‘ The *anointing*
 ‘ *of the Holy Spirit* doth teach the faithful to under-
 ‘ stand those things which they received of the apos-
 ‘ tles; therefore to understand the scriptures in those
 ‘ things which are necessary to salvation;’ⁱ with more
 to that purpose.

Vatablus on Job xxxii. 8. with Drusius, Clarius,
 and others, speak to the same effect.

G. Cradock, a famous Independent preacher,
 preached, ‘ that the scripture is a *speechless thing* with-
 ‘ out the spirit.’^k

Ch. Goad, an eminent Separate, in his works stiled
 B. D. of K. college, in Cambridge, and an Independ-
 ent pastor thus taught, ‘ There is no knowledge of
 ‘ Christ, nor of the scripture, but by *revelation*.’^l

Dr. J. Owen, a man of greatest fame among the
 present Independents, saith, ‘ The public, authentic,
 ‘ and infallible interpreter of the holy scriptures, is
 ‘ he who is the *author* of them; from the breathing
 ‘ of whose spirit they derive all their verity, perspi-
 ‘ cuity, and authority.’^m

So that we see, upon the judgment of many consi-
 derable persons, the scripture is no rule for our be-
 lieving and understanding of itself; and therefore not

^s Tindal’s Works, p. 319 & 80. ^h Jewel against Harding, p.
 532, 534. ⁱ Dr. Ames against Bellarm. l. 1. c. 6. Thes. 32.

^k G. Cradock’s Divine Drops, p. 217. ^l C. Goad’s Refr. Drops,
 p. 12. ^m Exercit. 2. 7. 9. against Quak.

the rule of faith and practice concerning the things therein declared.

I will give a short instance in Christ's words about regeneration. He taught (and strange it was, no doubt, to wise Nicodemus) "that unless a man be "born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." This is as plain a proposition as can be laid down, and may be credited *historically*: but what is that to the *knowledge* and *experience* of the new birth? That they are never like to be informed of there. Nor can that scripture be my rule in that heavenly travel, respecting the many and wonderful trials and exercises that are to be met with in the way to it; neither can any other writing whatever. This only is the office of that *Spirit* and *Word immortal*, by which we are begotten again. What, then, is my rule, to inform, order, strengthen, and lead through the whole operation, but the *same spirit*? All doctrinal scripture was *experienced* before written, or they had not been true witnesses who wrote it.

Now that which was *their* rule, can guide *us* into the same experiences; nor are they to be rightly known before experienced: "If any man will do his "will, he shall know of the doctrine," saith Christ. I read the history of such things: this saves not: neither can the history be the rule leading into the mystery. That belongs only to the spirit, that searcheth out the deep things of God. Consequently the spirit, and not the scripture, is the rule for *so* believing and living.

Obj. *But is not this to make void the Protestants plea against the Papists, viz. That the scriptures are the rule of faith and practice?*

Answ. No such matter: for the question was not, Whether the spirit of Christ, or the scripture, was the rule; but, Whether the scripture, which is *God's* tradition, or *Popish* traditions, were the rule to measure the truth of doctrines and practices by? We grant that

that particular scriptures, rightly understood, may measure what is agreeable or disagreeable to them: that is, such doctrines and practices as are contrary to that part of scripture, more particularly relating to our days, are questionable by the scripture; especially since all parties pretend that what they say and do is according to scripture. Yet this concludes not the scripture to be *the general and evangelical rule*.

Obj. *But if God had not revealed those things that are in scripture, by it to us, how could they have been known by us?*

Answ. They were known by the light and spirit of Christ *before* they were written; for from *being written* they are called scripture. Therefore it is said, “that
“ the prophets searched diligently what, and what
“ manner of time, the spirit of Christ, that was in
“ them, did signify, when it testified *before-hand* of
“ the sufferings of Christ.” Nor are they ever the more revealed to the blind and dark mind, because they are written. The mysteries of regeneration are as puzzling to natural wit and earthly wisdom, as before. Therefore well said Epiphanius, ‘ Only to the
‘ children of the Holy Ghost all the holy scriptures
‘ are plain and easy.’ Mens going to hammer out principles, without this infallible guide and rule, hath been the cause of that great confusion that is over mankind about religion to this very day.

Obj. *But how else could you have known those prophecies to be true; for that is not matter of witnessing, but foretelling.*

Answ. That is an extraordinary revelation, not falling within the ordinary discoveries that are absolutely necessary to man’s salvation; by which God shews his power and faithfulness, that he is God, and can fore-

tel, and will bring to pass: but therefore must there be an extraordinary *light* or *spirit*, and not rather an extraordinary *sight* and *sense* from one and the *same* light and spirit in them? Besides, that which gives me to believe and favour it to be from the spirit, and not by imposture, is my rule for believing it. Now that the spirit so doth, both Calvin and Beza, as before cited, assert for me, viz. ‘The same spirit that
 ‘ spake by the mouth of the prophets, must pierce
 ‘ into our hearts, to persuade us that they faithfully
 ‘ declared that which was committed to them of
 ‘ God.’

Obj. *But this light you speak of, could not tell you which way sin came into the world: that there was an Adam and Eve, that they fell after that manner, and that sin so entered the world: that Christ was born of a virgin, suffered death, and rose again: that you ought not to swear in any case, &c. if the scriptures had not told you so.*

Ans. That is boldly said. But consider well: ‘Moses,’ says the vulgar opinion, ‘had that account
 ‘ of the creation, above two thousand years after it,
 ‘ by revelation, which we find in Genesis.’ Now that there could be no revelation without this divine light or spirit, which is the life of the eternal, creating Word, must needs be granted; “for,” saith the apostle Paul, “the spirit of God *only* knoweth the things
 “ of God; and whatever makes manifest is light.” And that the spirit and light are one, though two names, has been sufficiently evidenced already. If then it was this light of the eternal Word, that delivered those past things to Moses, and gave that prospect of future things to the prophets; as no doubt it was, if the scriptures be credible; then to say, ‘the
 ‘ light or spirit could not do it,’ is blasphemous, as well as absurd. Again, to argue, because the light does not reveal every circumstance of history to each

individual that hath already an account thereof, that therefore it *could not*, is unreasonable. Were the history of the transactions of Christ and his followers wanting, (as before Moses was that of Adam and his posterity) and that the Lord saw it needful to acquaint mankind therewith, no doubt but the light and spirit which revealed the account of the creation, above two thousand years after, to Moses, and foretold several hundred years many of those transactions of Christ by the prophets, would also have supplied that want: but inasmuch as an account is extant, and therefore not needed, that objection is vain.

Again, it does not follow, because every man has a measure of light to inform and rule him, that therefore he must needs know all which that light knows, or is able to reveal to him. I return that argument thus upon our adversaries: they say, ‘they have the ‘spirit of God:’ then they know all that the spirit of God knows, or can reveal to them. If the latter be absurd, then the former. Again, say they, ‘The ‘light within did not reveal Christ to the Gentiles, ‘and that Christ should be born of a virgin, &c. ‘therefore insufficient.’ I return upon them thus; The spirit of God, given to the children of Israel, Neh. ix. 20. did not acquaint them that Christ should be born of a *virgin*, nor much more of his life and bodily transactions; therefore the spirit of God was insufficient. The like may be concluded against the spirit in the prophets: for it is manifest from 1 Pet. i. 10, 11. that the spirit had not revealed to all the prophets the time of Christ’s appearance and sufferings. Was the spirit therefore an insufficient rule to them? But that which falls heaviest upon our opposers, is this, That the scriptures, by their own argument, are a most *imperfect account* themselves of what was done, not relating the hundredth part of things; therefore as insufficient in not relating *what is behind*, as they would weakly render the light or spirit, in not revealing to every individual those things which are *already past*. Nay, they may as well infer insufficiency to

to the spirit, or the light within, in that it does not shew *all that shall be* to the end of the world, which in their proper seasons there will be a necessity to know, as to reflect insufficiency upon it, &c. because it did not foretel things that are now past unto former ages, or *needlessly* reveal them over again to us in this age. Neither is *history*, or can it be, the rule of that faith and life we speak of, which are so absolutely necessary to salvation; which is the faith that *God*, and not *history*, gives; and that works not by history, but by *love*, and overcomes the world; by which millions of *historical* believers are overcome, and wallow in the spirit and practice of. And the rule must be answerable to the nature and workings of the faith: the same in point of practice, which is duty done. Now history, though it inform me of others actions, yet it does not follow that it is the rule of *duty* to me, since it may relate to actions not imitable, as in the case of Adam and Eve in several respects, and Christ's being born of a virgin, dying for the sins of the world, &c. wherefore this cannot be *the rule of duty*. The like may be said of the *Jewish story*, that was the particular concern and transaction of that people.

Obj. *But these things ought to be believed,*

Answ. I say so too, where the history has reached, and the spirit of God hath made a conviction upon the conscience; which, says Dr. J. Owen, as before cited, 'gives them authority, verity, and perspicuity.' But where this history has not reached any people, or they die ignorant of it, they are not responsible for not believing any such passages, as faith bishop Sanderfon.^a It is one thing to say, The scriptures ought to be read, believed, and fulfilled; and another thing to say, They are the evangelical rule of faith and life: for when I read, and believe, and witness them fulfilling, I must needs have a rule by which to read, under-

stand, believe, and witness them: which being the divine light and spirit of Christ, it must be *that*, and not themselves, that must be my rule for so reading, understanding, and believing them.

And farther, to prove that the light and spirit within the heathens was sufficient to discover these things, it is granted on all hands, that the *sybils* had divine sights. I mean not those made in their name by some professors of Christianity, as is charged upon them, to gain authority upon the Gentiles, against which Blundel writes; but those that are acknowledged, who prophesied of ‘a virgin’s bringing forth a son, and ‘that he should destroy the serpent, and replenish the ‘earth with righteousness,’ as is before cited out of Virgil, who took it out of the remains of Cumæa’s verses, then among the Romans.

And for the practical part of the objection, viz. How should we have known it had been unlawful to swear at all in any case, if Matt. v. 34. had not been (which is of most weight in this case, because it is matter of duty, and called particularly by some an evangelical precept, being a step above the righteousness of the outward law among the Jews) I have this to say for proof of the light’s sufficiency:

There were among the Jews themselves, long before Christ came, an entire people, that would not swear, to wit, the Esseni: ‘They keep their promises,’ saith Josephus, ‘and account every word they speak ‘of *more force* than if they had bound it with an *oath*: ‘and they shun oaths worse than perjury; for they ‘esteem him condemned for a liar, who without it is ‘not believed.’¹

Philo writes to the same purpose, and taught himself, ‘That it was best to *abstain from swearing*; that ‘one’s word might be taken instead of an oath.’

And Pythagoras, in his oration to the Crotonian senators, exhorted them thus, ‘Let no man attest God

¹ Josephus’s Wars of the Jews, l. 2, c. 7.
& decalog.

² Philo, de spec. leg.

‘ by

‘ by oath, though in courts of judicature; but use to
 ‘ speak such things that he may be credited without an
 ‘ oath.’”

The Scythians are said to have told Alexander of themselves, ‘ Think not that Scythians confirm their
 ‘ friendship by oath: they swear by keeping their
 ‘ word.’”

And Clinias, a Greek, and follower of Pythagoras, rather chose to suffer the fine of three talents, (which made three hundred pounds English) than to lessen his veracity by taking of an oath. Which act was greatly commended of Basilus, who upbraided the Christians of his time with it; thereby (after our adversaries way of drawing consequences) preferring the light of the Gentiles before the light of the Christians: though indeed the light was, and is, always *one* in itself. But the Christian did not live up so closely to it as the heathen did, and therefore took a greater liberty, and walked in a broader way.”

I would now know of our opposers, if they can yet think the light that preached this doctrine in the mount, was the same with that light that shined in the consciences of those Gentiles, so many hundred years before that sermon was writ or preached, who so plainly believed, practised, and taught it, yea or nay? Perhaps some will yet stick out; while the more moderate will submit, and conclude ignorance and folly have made all this opposition against us; and that of a truth, the *voice* which cried, Prov. viii. 4, 6. “Unto you, O men, I call; and my voice is to
 “ the sons of men; hear, for I will speak excellent
 “ things,” was also heard by the Gentiles; and that what concerned the doctrine of holy living was not hid from them; I mean, evangelically so; provided Christ’s heavenly sermon upon the mount, related by Matthew the Evangelist, may be esteemed *such*: for their writings flow with amens thereunto.

• Laert. Herm. & Orig. contr. Cels. • Quint. Curt. in vit. Alex.
 • H. Grotius on Mat. v. 34.

But allowing our adversaries that the voice was then so low, and the manifestation of the light so small, as it discovered not many of those things before-mentioned; could that give reasonable men ground to conclude, therefore the divine wisdom or light was insufficient; or that the divine wisdom or light was not then, and should not in other ages become the rule and guide of the children of men? Yet such false consequences have been the corner-stone and foundation of our opposers building against us; and no reasonable man, I think, will attempt to clear it from being a *sandy* one.

Of the JUDGE of CONTROVERSY.

I Shall explain what I mean by these terms.

A JUDGE, is one that has not only power to determine, but discerning to do it rightly.

CONTROVERSY, is a debate between two parties about the truth or falshood of any proposition to be determined by that judge.

From whence I am led to assert, that the judge of controversy must be *certain* and *unerring*.

And though this may seem strange to some, it is nevertheless true in itself: for if the judge be *fallible*, he may indeed silence the contending parties by his authority, but not the controversy by a *certain* judgment, since he may as well determine *falsly* as *truly*. So that controversy can never be rightly determined by a fallible judge, therefore he is no true judge of controversy. Indeed it is absurd, and a contradiction in itself to think otherwise; since he that is uncertain, can never be certain of his decision: and if not a certain one, then none to the purpose. Nor ought any person, no otherwise judged, that is persuaded of the truth of his cause, to let fall his belief upon so doubtful a determination; since he moves not only without conviction, but against conviction: and, which

which is worse, he is not ascertained of the truth of what he is required to submit to. Therefore of all people they are most condemnable, who, notwithstanding they keep so great a stir about religion, and sometimes use coercive means to compass their designed uniformity, acknowledge to us, they are not *certain of their own faith*.

Since then the judge must be unerring, it will be worth our while to consider where this infallible judge is to be found. “There is none good but God,” said God himself, when manifested in the flesh; that is, originally, or as of himself: so, truly, there is none infallible but God, as of himself. Yet as the Supreme Good is communicated unto man according to measure; so (as well says bishop Latimer) is their infallibility, certainty, or assurance of the truth of things given to man, according to capacity: otherwise men would be obliged to believe and obey, and that upon damnation, those things concerning which there can be no *certainty*, whether they be true or false.*

Emmanuel, God with men, as he is their *Rule*, so their *Judge*: he is the *Law-Giver*, and therefore the best interpreter of any point that may concern his own law: and men are so far certain, as they are subject to his voice, light, or spirit in them, and no farther; for, *humanum est errare*, man is errable. Nor can any thing rescue him out of error, or preserve him from the infections of it, but the sound and certain judgment that God, by the light of his spirit, gives unto him.

Obj. *But is not the scripture the judge of controversy?*

Answ. How can that be, since the question most times arises about the meaning of scripture? Is there any place tells us, without interpretation, whether the Socinian or Trinitarian be in the right, in their differing apprehensions of the “Three that bear record,”

* Book of Martyrs, vol. 3. p. 475.

&c. Also the Homousian and Arian, about Christ's divinity; or the Papists or Protestants about transubstantiation? If then things are left undefined and undetermined, I mean literally and expressly, in the scripture, and that the question arises about the *sense of words*, doth the scripture determine which of those interpreters hit the mark? As this is not reasonable to think, so must it be acknowledged, that if interpretation decide the matter in controversy, then not the scripture, but the *interpreter* must be the judge.

Now this interpreter must either interpret by his own mere wisdom or spirit, called by the apostle, 1 Cor. ii. 11. "the spirit of a man," who, by weighing the text, consulting the intent of the writer, comparing places together, gives the judgment which the scripture does not give of itself; or, from the spirit of God, "which gives understanding," as Job xxxii. 8. and as the same apostle saith, in the same place, "searcheth the deep things of God." If the first, then a *fallible*; if the last, then an *infallible* judge.

I would fain know, whether it was the scripture, or the Holy Ghost, that presided among the apostles when they were come together, Acts xv. when they said, "It seemeth good to the Holy Ghost, and to us," &c. If the Holy Ghost, then pray give us a plain scripture to prove we are to have *another* judge now: if that cannot be done, then we must have the *same*, and consequently an *infallible* judge, viz. the spirit of truth, which leads Christians into all truth, and is given of God, by Christ, for that very end,

Obj. *It is granted that the spirit is infallible: but how shall I know that any man determines a thing by this spirit, and does not rather obtrude his own sense upon us, under that specious pretence?*

Answ. By the same spirit; as well said Gualt. Cradock, 'The way to know whether the spirit be in us,

‘ is its *own evidence*; and that is the way to know it in
 ‘ others too: and the man that hath the spirit, may
 ‘ know the spirit in another. There is,’ saith he, ‘ a
 ‘ kind of sagacity in the saints, to this purpose.’”
 Which is also true in the judgment of abundance of
 Protestant writers: for as they held that no man could
 know the scriptures, but by the same spirit which in-
 dited them; so, consequently, that the same spirit
 only could assure him of the truth of the said inter-
 pretation. And Peter Martyr, as before quoted, tells
 us, ‘ The Holy Ghost is the Author or Judge.’ Also
 Dr. J. Owen saith, ‘ That the Holy Ghost is the *only*
 ‘ authentic interpreter of the scripture:’ and if the
 only authentic, then the only and infallible judge;
 then the judge of the mind or meaning of scripture,
 is both an only and an infallible judge. But to wave
 this: does not the very same objection lie against the
sense of scripture, since one says, *this* is the sense, and
 another *that*? To know God’s mind, men must come
 to God’s spirit, else difficulties of that sort are insu-
 perable.

In short, it were greatly to be wished that all men
 would hold themselves unconcerned in disputing about
 what they have not received an assurance of from the
 Holy Spirit; since they but beat the air, and obtain
 no solid satisfaction, neither can they upon any other
 bottom. God never prostrates his secrets to minds
 disobedient to what they already know. Let all prac-
 tise what they assuredly know to be their duty, and
 be sparing in their search after nice and unknown
 matters. Weighty and seasonable was, and is the
 apostle’s saying, “ Nevertheless, whereunto we have
 “ already attained, let us walk by the same rule:”
 where he both limits us to the present knowledge
 communicated to us, and exhorts us to live up to
 that; and if any thing be farther necessary for us,
 “ God in due time will reveal it by his spirit,” that

only gives to know, discern, and judge of the things that are of God,

Obj. But how will this determine the controversy, and allay the fury of debates that are on foot in the world?

Ans. Nothing like it, if a man adhere to it! And if he does not, there is no way left but the wrath that is to be revealed. But most-persuasions are agreed about the absolute necessities in religion, from that light and witness God has placed in man's conscience, viz. 'That God is: that he is a rewarder of
' them that diligently seek him. That the way of
' God is a way of purity, patience, meekness, &c.
' without which no man can see the Lord.' Nay, they accord in some considerable matters superadded, as some of them speak, to wit, 'That God was ma-
' nifested extraordinarily in the *flesh*: that he gave his
' life for the world; that such as believe and obey his
' grace in their hearts, receive remission of sins, and
' life everlasting.' Now I say, since these things men generally consent to, let them live up to them, and forbear wanton scrutinies after things or notions than gender to strife and contention, and leave not mankind better, but rather worse than they found them, and the world would soon be rid of controversy. *Holy living*, and not disputing, would be the business of mankind. What more excellent judgment can be given, than that men quit their contentions about notions and opinions, and betake themselves to the practice of that good which God hath already shewn unto them; as speak both the prophet Micah vi. 8. and the apostle Paul, Rom. i. 19. And if any thing be revealed to one more than another, let the rest judge in the spirit, or be silent till God manifest more to them, in order to right judgment.

It is good to "try all things;" but we must have something to try them by; and what ought that to be, but the "Spirit that searcheth," and "the anoint-

“ing that teaches all things,” which is truth itself. Here mankind will live in love, having at least natural affections (now lost by the barbarity of some of their cruel religions, or heats for their opinions) and a judgment of things will be made, not from the rash, partial, short-sighted, and froward mind of man, but that eternal light and spirit that never erred: which, however disgusting to some Protestants in this age, was no false doctrine in the account of John Philpot and bishop Latimer, two great founders of the reformation in England.

The first, in his answer to the bishop of Chichester, reproving his confidence about true faith in Christ, ‘These heretics,’ saith he, ‘take upon them to be *sure* of all things they stand in.’——‘Let him doubt,’ saith John Philpot, ‘of his faith that listeth; God give me always to believe that I am *sure* of true faith and favour in Christ.’

The second, in his answer to Sir Ed. Baynton, objecting the uncertainty of man in what he calls truth, thus recorded by J. Fox, ‘Your friends deny not, but that certain truths are communicated to us according to capacity: but as to my presumption and arrogancy, either I am certain, or uncertain, that it is truth that I preach. If it be truth, why may not I *say* so? If I be uncertain, why dare I be so bold as to *preach* it? And if your friends be preachers themselves, after their sermon, I pray you ask them, whether they be *certain* and *sure* they preach the truth or not; and send me word what they say, that I may learn to speak after them. If they say they be *sure*, you know what follows: if they say they be *unsure*, when shall *you* be sure, that have so doubtful and unsure teachers?’

Let not Protestants, for shame, judge us for owning a doctrine, that is confessed to, and confirmed by

^a 1 Cor. ii. 10. ¹ John ii. 20, 27. ^b Book of Martyrs, vol. 3. p. 577. ^c Ibid. vol. 3. p. 457.

some of the worthiest of their own ancestors, viz.
 ‘ That an unerring, certain or infallible judgment, in
 ‘ things *necessary* to salvation, is both possible and re-
 ‘ quisite, and that God communicates it, by his spirit,
 ‘ to the souls of men.’

T H E

C O N C L U S I O N.

TO conclude: *Emmanuel*, a word suited not only to *that* appearance, but the whole dispensation of the gospel, imports, *God nigh to, or with men*: “ The tabernacle of God is with men; he will dwell
 “ in them, and walk in them: they shall be all
 “ taught of me, and in righteousness shall they be
 “ established:” that is, by the spirit of his Son. And this admits not of any book, or literal rule or judge, to come between that indwelling spirit of light, life, and wisdom from God, and the soul, as its rule of faith and practice.

And because it is the unutterable goodness of God to people in these latter days, as the sum of scripture prophecy, thus to make known himself; we are incessant in our cries unto them, that they will turn their minds *inward* (now abroad, and taking up their rest in the externals of religion) that they may hear his heavenly voice and knocks, and let him in, and be taught of him to know and do his will, that they may come to be experienced and expert in the school of Christ; for never man spake and taught, as he livingly speaks and teaches in the consciences of those who diligently hear him, and are willing to be taught of him the knowledge of his ways. The priest was outward, but he is now *inward*; the law outward,

‘ Rev. xxi. 3, 7. Isa. liv. 13.

but it is now *inward*. And now “he is no more a
 “ Jew that is one outward, nor that circumcision
 “ which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew
 “ who is one inwardly, and circumcision is that of
 “ the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter, whose
 “ praise is not of men, but of God.” Which is so
 far from lessening the authority of the scriptures of
 truth, that unless this be man’s *rule* and *judge* in the
 reading and believing of them, he can never under-
 stand them rightly, or keep their sayings faithfully.
 And indeed, as before I have expressed, I cannot but
 say, that man (whilst *unregenerated*) setting his wit
 and wisdom to fathom and comprehend the intention
 of the Holy Ghost in many of those writings, hath
 occasioned that confusion, darkness, and perplexed
 controversy, that now so lamentably pesters the world:
 in which state, for all the external imitations of the
 ancients in some temporary and figurative parts of
 worship, I am to tell such, and from the spirit of the
 Lord God of all truth, they will never be *accepted*.

The utmost of that literal knowledge, historical
 faith, and outward religion, is but as the *old heavens*,
 that are to be wrapped up as a scroll, and the *old*
wine and *bottles*, that belong not to the kingdom of
 God. Such believers may flatter on themselves, and
 at last cry, Lord, Lord; but alas! they shall never
 enter into the rest that God hath reserved for his re-
 generated and redeemed children. For under such a
 faith and religion, envy, wrath, malice, persecution,
 pride, passion, covetousness, worldly-mindedness, &c.
 may and do prevail; yea, and are *cloaked*, as with a
 secure cover, from the stroke of God’s spirit; inso-
 much, as when any are moved of the Lord to decry
 such fair and hypocritical shews of religion, they are
 reputed rash and censorious, and presently a plea must
 be made on this wise; ‘Do not we follow the com-
 ‘mands of the scripture? Did not such and such do

‘ Rom. ii. 28, 29.

‘ so and so ?’ Which at best are but the duties of sacrifice, and not of obedience: never regarding from what ground the performance springs, whether it be according to the rule of the *new* or of the *old* creature; but abuse and vilify us for making such distinctions: as if the prayers, preaching, singings, outward baptizings, and supplings, &c. of men in their own *unsanctified* spirits, strength, and will, were required and accepted of God for evangelical worship. Thick darkness, and a dangerous presumption! Thus are men out of the way concerning both faith and practice, while they imagine the first to lie in an assent of the understanding to such propositions, and in an imitation of former observations, that were at best but signs of good things to come, and the duties of sacrifice (which is far from the *Emmanuel state*); and the latter, viz. the rule and judge, to be the *scriptures*; which are but an account of those things that others were ruled to, and directed in, by the Holy Spirit, before they were ever recorded or made scripture; and no other rule or judge can so regulate: for as the *faith* and *experience*, so the *rule* and *judge* of that faith and that experience, must be one. God by his spirit begets faith; God by his spirit rules faith, and governs the life of his children; “for as many as are children of God, are *led* by the spirit of God.” The scripture, much of it, is but a declaration of faith and experience; therefore not *the rule*, or judge: for as faith and experience were *before* scripture; (because, as I said before, there must be a rule and judge where there is faith) therefore the scripture is not *that* rule or judge: and before that declaration be answered or fulfilled by any, they must come to the faith, rule, and judge, of which *that* is a declaration. So that faith is ‘ yielding up to the requirings of God’s spirit
‘ in us, in full assurance of the remission of sins that
‘ are past, through the Son of his Love, and life

‘ Rom. viii. 14, 15.

‘ ever-

‘everlasting;’ from whence daily flow works of holiness, well-pleasing to God: which is more than a mere assent of the understanding to a verbal, though a true proposition. Again, the life of a true Christian stands not in *bodily exercise*, which, says the apostle, profits little: nor in an imitation of the ancients in temporary and shadowy things, which the hypocrite, as well as the saint, can do; but in *self-denial*, and walking in the *spirit*, to bring forth the fruits thereof unto all godliness, which is the pure and spiritual obedience, resulting from the living spiritual faith of God’s elect; and the rule and judge thereof is their author and begetter, even the *spirit of truth*, which alone gives saving understanding, faith, and obedience, and searcheth the deep things of God.^c

O ye professors of religion, that you would but seriously weigh these things, and examine yourselves in God’s sight (for he respects none for their fair outside), if this saving faith be your faith, and this heavenly life be your life, and if the Holy Spirit be your ruler and leader? If not, you are but legal, formal, and in the oldness of the letter, and will-worshippers, which obtains not with God: in which state, not the wisdom from above, but that which is from below, of the old creature, is your rule: in it you read scripture, expound it, pray, preach, sing, and perform all your duties; and this is not to walk “according to the rule of the new creature,”^b but in a legal spirit to make a gospel profession; the end of which, from the Lord, I am to tell you, “will be a bed of sorrow.” Therefore resist not the light and spirit within, but turn at the reproof thereof, that you may come to walk in the way of life, daily life to your souls; that so you may be quickened and made alive to God in all your duties, and

^c 1 Tim. iv. 8. Col. ii. 20, 21, 22, 23. Gal. v. 16, 22, 23.
^b Gal. vi. 16. Prov. vi. 23.

live to him, while you live in that life which is hid with Christ in God; that being thus born again, and become renewed in your inward man, you may perform that pure and spiritual worship, which is of a sweet favour with the Lord; so shall he bless you with his heavenly blessings, and daily replenish your souls with the unspeakable joys of his love and salvation. This I heartily desire, and through all difficulties incessantly travel for, in body, soul, and spirit, that the All-wise, Good, Omnipotent God may be known, served, and obeyed by you, to your comfort, and his eternal honour, who alone is worthy to receive it, now and for ever. Amen.

WILLIAM PENN.

END OF VOL. I.

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